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6 April 1983

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 406

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6 April 1983

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 406

### CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

#### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'VODK' Urges DRV Expulsion From Nonaligned Movement (XINHUA, 24, 28 Feb 83) .....	1
Appeal to Summit 'VODK' Editorial	
Singapore Wants Nonaligned Course Corrected (XINHUA, 25 Feb 83) .....	3
DPRK's Pak Song-chol Addresses Nonaligned Summit (XINHUA, 10 Mar 83) .....	4
Nonaligned Foreign Ministers Meeting Ends (XINHUA, 6 Mar 83) .....	6
'RENMIN RIBAO' on Guerrilla Forces in Kampuchea (Yang Mu; RENMIN RIBAO, 17 Mar 83) .....	7
'WEN WEI PO' on Possibility of Reagan's Reelection (Yueh Hsiu-sheng; WEN WEI PO, 9 Mar 83) .....	9
Chinese Invasion of Vietnam Called 'Big Mistake' (Ba Yi Radio, 5 Mar 83) .....	11
Ba Yi Warns of Japanese Aggression, Expansion (Ba Yi Radio, 2 Mar 83) .....	13
'RENMIN RIBAO' Discusses West German Election (Jiang Jianguo; RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Mar 83) .....	14
'RENMIN RIBAO' on Kampuchean Troops, People (Yang Mu; RENMIN RIBAO, 26 Feb 83) .....	17

West Europe-USSR Deal on Natural Gas Examined (Tass Berlin, Eur Glasnost; XUSU1 WENTI YANJIU, Oct '82) .....	20
'More It-Pac-let Struggle' Against U.S. (Be Al Hall, 6 Mar '83) .....	32
Japan	
Japanese-Soviet Relations .....	34
Reagan Statement on Taiwan Decried .....	34
Space Cooperation With USSR Opposed .....	34
Talks With Vietnam Urged .....	35
Minor Reunification .....	35
US Election .....	35
Soviet-U.S. Joint Military Training .....	36
Celebration in Moscow .....	36
Japan's Deal or Nonaligned Principle .....	36
PART IV 1983	
March 1st - 1st Intellectual Policy Issues (Xinhua, Provincial Service, 14 Mar '83) .....	37
Feb 14th Anniversary in Solving Criminal Cases (Xinhua, Xinhua, 14 Mar '83) .....	39
Intellectuals Settle Up for Attempting Reform (Xinhua, Provincial Service, 13 Mar '83) .....	41
Xinhua's View on Intellectuals' Treatment (Xinhua, Provincial Service, 13 Mar '83) .....	42
'No Hostilities of Intellectuals' Policy Urged (Xinhua, Provincial Service, 1 Mar '83) .....	44
Xinhua's View on New Leading Bodies (Xinhua, Provincial Service, 9 Mar '83) .....	46
March 1st - Xinhua's Report on Espionage Case (Xinhua, Provincial Service, 17 Mar '83) .....	47
PART V 1983	
Xinhua's 'Chaos' Remuneration Regulations .....	48
Xinhua's Remuneration Meeting .....	48
Xinhua's View on Lei Feng .....	48
Xinhua's View on Trees .....	49
Xinhua's View on Committee Work .....	49
Xinhua's View on Arthur Day .....	49
Xinhua's View on .....	49
Xinhua's View on Meeting .....	50



## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURE

Shanxi Calls For Learning From Intellectual (Shanxi Provincial Service, 7 Mar 83) .....	51
'HEBEI RIBAO' on Civility, Courtesy Campaign (HEBEI RIBAO, 34 Feb 83) .....	52
Discrimination Against Intellectuals Criticized (JINGJI RIBAO, 26 Feb 83) .....	55
Article on Modernization, Modernists Viewed (LI LI; WENYI BAO, 7 Nov 82) .....	57
CPPCC Role, United Front Work Emphasized (Ma Dezong; NINGXIA RIBAO, 14 Jan 83) .....	65
Li Rui's Speech on Civility, Courtesy (Tianjing City Service, 28 Feb 83) .....	70
'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Historical Articles (LI, et al.; GUANGMING RIBAO, 23 Feb 83) .....	72
Portrayal of Typical Characters in Literature Discussed (Wang Meng; BEIJING WENXUE, 10 Dec 82) .....	75

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

'CHENG MING' Speculates on Next HK 'XINHUA' Chief (CHENG MING, 1 Mar 83) .....	88
'WEN WEI PO' Interviews PRC Ambassador to UK (Tseng Li-yu; WEN WEI PO, 15 Mar 83) .....	92
'CHENG MING' on Ye Jianying's Resignation (Lo Ping; CHENG MING, 1 Mar 83) .....	95
Guangzhou CPPCC Plans To Reform Structure (PAO, 9 Mar 83) .....	101
'TA KUNG PAO' Reports Interview With Qiao Guanhua (Qiao Guanhua Interview; TA KUNG PAO, 9 Mar 83) .....	102
Fujian's Xiang Nan Urges Unity of Cadres (Min Zhong; MING PAO, 10 Mar 83) .....	104
Briefs PRC Ambassador to Britain Named .....	105

TAIWAN

Taiwan Muriens Linked to Insurgency Plot (AFP, 17 Mar 83) .....	106
PRC Publication Accuses USSR of 'Hegemonism' (AFP, 14 Mar 83) .....	107

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'VODK' URGES SRV EXPULSION FROM NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

#### Appeal to Summit

OW240951 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 24 Feb 83

[Text] Beijing, February 24 (XINHUA)--Radio Democratic Kampuchea, in a commentary today, appealed to the forthcoming seventh non-aligned summit to drive out Viet Nam from the Non-Aligned Movement.

All member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, the commentary said, pledge to observe, implement and defend the sacred principles of the Non-Aligned Movement. However, the Vietnamese authorities have seriously violated these principles by aggression against Kampuchea, occupation of Laos, forming an alliance with the Soviet Union, and allowing the Soviet Union to build military bases in Viet Nam. Moreover, they are sowing dissension within the Non-Aligned Movement, undermining the unity among the non-aligned countries, thus putting the Non-Aligned Movement in a vulnerable position on major international issues. For example, on the issues of Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and Vietnamese aggression of Kampuchea, the Non-Aligned Movement could not function normally.

In order to defend the aim and principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, the commentary stressed, the non-aligned countries should seriously condemn Viet Nam for its aggression and alignment, drive it out of the movement and restore the legitimate seat of Democratic Kampuchea in the movement. Otherwise, Viet Nam and its partners will be emboldened to spearhead its aggression to other countries.

#### 'VODK' Editorial

OW281826 Beijing XINHUA in English 1109 GMT 28 Feb 83

[Text] Beijing, February 28 (XINHUA)--Vietnam should be expelled from the Non-Aligned Movement and Democratic Kampuchea invited to the coming non-aligned conference in accordance with the sacred principles of the movement, says an editorial of Radio Democratic Kampuchea today.

The editorial says that President of Democratic Kampuchea Samdech Norodom Sihanouk has appealed to the movement to expel Vietnam and restore

Democratic Kampuchea's legitimate seat. Within the Nonaligned Movement, there is at present an abnormal situation: The aggressor Vietnam still stays in the movement, but the victim Democratic Kampuchea is kept out of it. The future of the movement will be imperiled if such a situation remains unchanged.

The Vietnamese authorities, the editorial points out, now pass themselves off as a defender of "unity" by proposing "not to split the Nonaligned Movement" and "not to harm the interests of the movement." They aim to destroy the principles of the movement in the name of "unity," exert pressure on the nonaligned countries and force them to accept Vietnam's aggression as fait accompli.

At the last conference in Havana, the editorial points out, Cuba arbitrarily kept Democratic Kampuchea outside that meeting in defiance of opposition by many participants. At the end of that meeting, 23 non-aligned countries issued a joint declaration protesting against Cuba's illegal act. Did Vietnam, Cuba and their like ever consider the unity of the Nonaligned Movement at that time? It is none other than Vietnam and its like who are trampling underfoot the nonaligned principles, attempting to alter the independent and nonaligned stand of the movement and to bring this movement into the orbit of serving the Soviet strategy.

The editorial holds that nonaligned countries will surely safeguard the legitimate seat of Democratic Kampuchea and smash Vietnam's plot. It expresses the belief that the seventh nonaligned summit will adopt an explicit resolution demanding an unconditional withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination.

CSO: 4000/80

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SINGAPORE WANTS NONALIGNED COURSE CORRECTED

OW251905 Beijing XINHUA in English 1842 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Text] Beijing, February 25 (XINHUA)--Singapore urges non-aligned countries to make their New Delhi summit next month return to the true course of non-alignment, according to reports from the United Nations.

In a manifesto circulated in the United Nations and in some capitals, the Singapore Government says that the New Delhi summit will offer an opportunity for the movement to "return to the true path of non-alignment."

The 28-page document says the movement is at a crossroads and many now hope New Delhi would mark a significant departure from the Cuban summit.

It says that a small group of countries tried to align the movement to one superpower and its allies and they are prepared to flout the fundamental principles of the movement.

"A sacred commitment of the movement is to categorically oppose all forms of aggression," the document states. "It is our hope that at New Delhi, the prestige and vigor of the movement will be restored," it adds.

Calling the Vietnamese action in Kampuchea an act of aggression, the Singapore manifesto says 160,000 Vietnamese troops remain in occupation of Kampuchea while a puppet regime camouflages this occupation. "Until today, the Non-Aligned Movement as a whole has not condemned the Vietnamese military intervention," the document points out.

It notes that "tragically, it was left to the movement under Cuban chairmanship to reward the aggressor and punish the victim by the unseating of Democratic Kampuchea at the Havana summit."

If the Cuban decision were endorsed, then added force would be given to a precedent that gave a host country arbitrary powers to decide whose seat was filled and whose left vacant at every summit meeting, the document said.

CSO: 4000/80

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DPRK'S PAK SONG-CHOL ADDRESSES NONALIGNED SUMMIT

OW101930 Beijing XINHUA in English 1859 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] New Delhi, 10 March (XINHUA)--A Korean leader reaffirmed today that the withdrawal of U.S. troops out of South Korea and removal of the dangerous source of war are "the prerequisites to achieving the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea."

Speaking at the non-aligned summit here, vice-president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Pak Song-chol said, "It is because of the U.S. imperialists' occupation of South Korea and their 'two Koreas' policy that tension in Korea is aggravated. Her peace constantly harassed and the division of our country indefinitely prolonged."

He said, "the present South Korean authorities are loudmouthed about what they call 'unification' and 'dialogue' while ignoring this pressing task for pulling the U.S. troops out of South Korean. This is no more than a gossip. If the South Korean authorities truly want reunification, they should, first of all, make the U.S. troops pull out of South Korea and, if they want a dialogue, they should demand this before anything else."

He said, "the attitude towards the presence of the U.S. troops in South Korea is the criterion distinguishing between the line of reunification and the line of division."

Pak Song-chol said, "the question of Korean reunification is one of taking back the territory and people deprived by the foreign aggressors and completely establishing the national sovereignty on a nation-wide scale."

The Korean vice-president urged the non-aligned countries to take an active step in support of the just struggle of the Korean people to oppose the "two Koreas" plot of the splittists in and out of Korea and force the United States to withdraw its troops from South Korea to help the country achieve independent and peaceful reunification.

On economy, the Korean leader said, "as we witness, a worldwide negotiation to reorganize the present unfair international economic order and establish a new one has come to a deadlock owing to the stubborn stand of the developed countries."

he said, "the present situation urgently calls on the non-aligned, developing countries to strengthen cooperation among themselves still further on the principle of collective self-reliance."

"The realistic way for this is to establish a new order in the economic relations among the non-aligned and other developing countries through the actual expansion and development of south-cooperation," he added.

CSG: 4000/82

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING ENDS

199500 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0815 GMT 6 Mar 83

Beijing, New Delhi, 5 Mar (XINHUA)--The conference of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries ended this evening after adopting a proposal to be submitted to the scheduled summit. Foreign ministers proposed to the summit that the General Secretariat of nonaligned countries study the question of Kampuchea's representation and make a suggestion on the conference of foreign ministers scheduled for 1978.

This report also states the following three points: That the coordination bureau be instructed to further study this question, take into consideration various opinions expressed during the debate and then make a suggestion on this question to the conference of foreign ministers to be held in 1985; that heads of state or government be invited to pay attention to the report adopted by the conference of foreign ministers (the report includes the summary speech by the chairman of the conference of foreign ministers); and that this summit be held in 1985.

A spokesman of the conference of foreign ministers said: The conference failed to admit this proposal to the summit because representatives to the summit had serious differences over the question of Kampuchea's representation and could not reach a consensus. Sixty-one delegations spoke on this question. Thirty-one stood for restoring democratic Kampuchea's legitimate seat, 18 wanted to give this seat to the Heng Samrin regime propped by Vietnam, and 12 stood for letting this seat remain vacant or referring this question to another conference.

the question of the composition of the nonaligned coordination bureau has not yet been solved. A work team consisting of high-ranking officials will hold further consultations on this question and make a suggestion to the summit.



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON GUERRILLA FORCES IN KAMPUCHEA

HK180945 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Mar 83 p 6

["Newsletter from Kampuchea" by Yang Mu [2799 2606]: "The Grassroots-level Guerrilla Forces"]

[Text] From the jungle in the foothills of Dongla Mountain in Siem Reap Province came the sound of concentrated automatic rifle fire, followed by a few isolated bursts. Benmu, the commander of a certain regiment of the national army of democratic Kampuchea, who was sitting in his army hammock talking to me, inclined his head and listened attentively. "This is not the gunfire of the Vietnamese army," he said, "according to our plans, a ceremony should be held this morning for the issuing of guns to the grassroots-level militia of Kewa Village. Probably..." before he could finish, a democratic Kampuchea sentry dashed through the sun-drenched clearing of the forest to report to the commander: "Received a telephone message from the frontline. The members of the grassroots-level guerrilla forces in Kewa Village have just received their new rifles and are happily trying them out!"

The grassroots-level guerrilla forces of democratic Kampuchea can be described as a "reorganization of old forces." We can also say that guerrilla forces against Vietnam have been spontaneously established in many districts for a long time, but the national army only began leading and organizing them in a planned manner from 1981 onward. After the failure of the strategy of the Vietnamese army invading Kampuchea in attempting to fight a "war of quick decision" and swallow up Kampuchea. It reverted to military "large-scale mopping up" and ruthless political suppression to deal with the patriotic soldiers and people of Kampuchea. This has been particularly the case along highway six and areas close to the Kampuchea National Army. After learning by various means the channels used by people in the Vietnamese occupied area to support the national army, the Vietnamese Army persecuted the villagers in a vain attempt to cut off these channels. After penetrating deep into the heartland of Siem Reap during the dry seasons of 1980 and 1981, the democratic Kampuchea National Army has energetically supported the activities of these groups and organized them into better armed and equipped guerrilla forces.

Kewa Village, nestled in the foothills of Dongla Mountain, formerly had an underground guerrilla force of just over 10 people. They kept up the struggle against the enemy under very difficult conditions. In April 1982, the guerrilla

Force set an ambush near the Puliedike Village and killed 8 Vietnamese soldiers. They also helped the national army to spy on the enemy and collected as well as transported the grain offered by the villagers to the national army. After the democratic Kampuchea National Army liberated Kewa Village, the size of this guerrilla force was expanded. On 11 November it took the initiative in making an attack on 60 Vietnamese soldiers stationed in the Bangluo Village of Chikreng County, killing 1 and wounding 3 of them. When we accompanied the national army on a visit to the village, we were warmly welcomed by more than 30 guerrilla fighters armed with new rifles.

The people living in the foothills of Lizhi Mountain also organized themselves into a guerrilla force after "being forced into rebellion." The peasants of Dorian Village had supplied grain to the democratic Kampuchea National Army. When the Vietnamese Army discovered this, it decided to arrest more than 100 "collaborators" on a certain day in May 1982 based on a "blacklist." However, the news was leaked out, and people on the "blacklist" informed each other and quickly made their escape. They gathered in the jungle to seek a way out. They lived on roots and wild plants in the untain and forest and lived through a most difficult rainy season. After that, they formally set up a guerrilla force of nearly 100 strong and fought in the region around Lizhi Mountain. In nearly half a year of guerrilla activities, they killed a total of 30 and wounded more than 40 enemy soldiers. When we visited the village at the end of last year, there was a grassroots-level guerrilla force of more than 40 fighters who could move about openly after reorganization, and they lined up under their leader to welcome us. They are now all well-armed and in good spirits. When we talked about the possibility of Vietnamese troops attacking Lizhi Mountain again, a slightly-built but nimble fighter said: "Our families have been ruthlessly persecuted because we joined the guerrilla forces. If the Vietnamese troops enter the village again, our families will be broken up. Therefore we have pledged to fight to the death in defending our village and will coordinate with the national army in constantly pushing the frontline south, so that Lizhi Mountain will become a reliable base area for the national army." This guerrilla fighter showed the reason for closely relating "defending the home" with "defending the country" and expressed the heartfelt aspirations of the grassroots-level guerrilla forces.

At present, many districts of the eight counties in Siem Reap Province have organized underground as well as open grassroots-level guerrilla forces. These forces have not only become an increasing threat to the Vietnamese Army, but they have also become a force for propaganda and for organizing the masses and supplying soldiers to the national army.

The still unfolding grassroots-level guerrilla activities are an important component of the Kampuchean people's war of resistance against Vietnamese aggression. The day will come when grassroots guerrilla forces will appear in every corner of the Vietnamese army occupied area and become an immense strength striking terror into the heart of the enemy.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'WEN WEI PO' ON POSSIBILITY OF REAGAN'S REELECTION

HK100003 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 9 Mar 83 p 9

["International Reading Notes" by Yueh Hsiu-sheng [6390 4423 3932]: "Quotation of Reagan on the Market"]

[Text] The Presidency of Reagan has passed its midpoint. That means Reagan has spent 2 years in the White House. The issue of whether he will run for another term of office must be placed on the agenda.

According to American political tradition, in the third fall of each presidency, the curtain of the election campaign for the next term of office is drawn up. Before that, a few people in both the democratic and republican parties announce their intention to run for their party's nomination at their party's convention held the same year the general elections are held. At present, some democrats, such as former Vice President Mondale and Senator Glenn, have announced that they will run for the presidency and challenge Reagan who is now power. As for the Republican Party, although Reagan has expressed his appreciation of the party leadership's decision to support him and Vice President Bush in their campaign for reelection, so far, he has not yet openly said whether he will run for reelection.

This does not mean that Reagan has no intention of seeking reelection and staying in power. Last summer he said: "I have never told anyone who is close to me that I will not run for my reelection." On 7 February this year, his 72d birthday, Reagan more explicitly indicated that the main factor which will determine whether he is reelected is whether his economic plan is successful. That is to say, it depends on whether the objective situation is favorable or not.

In fact, Reagan's quotation on the market over the past year is bearism rather than bullish. Because the American economy has declined year after year, unemployment has become more and more serious, financial deficits have sharply increased, and expenditures on social welfare have been cut by a big margin, most of the remedies and promises put forward by Reagan when he took power have not been carried out or made good. His prestige has sharply fallen. Many polls indicate that those who would vote for Reagan have become fewer and fewer. The state of the union message this year again was held in derision. Although Reagan insisted that the American economy would "improve" in the near

future and that his tenure of office would "go down in history as a prosperous period," public opinion holds that he lacks "the vigor which is necessary in the midterm recovery," and public trust in him is even lower than that in Carter in his midterm 4 years ago.

This situation embarrasses Reagan. If he is determined to run for reelection, he must have certainty of economic recovery. However, at present, he, on the one hand, has to retrench expenditures, while on the other hand, he needs to increase military expenditures. He has to control deficits, but he opposes tax increases. He wants to win public support, but he must cut welfare expenditures. It seems that there is no way to solve all these contradictions. Even his aides in the White House find that the prospects for him are dismal rather than bright. Even if the economic recession really reaches its bottom this year, the slight economic recovery will not be very helpful and it probably will not last long. However, if Reagan fails to make up his mind, that will place the Republican Party in an unfavorable position at the preliminary stage of the election campaign. Therefore, the WASHINGTON POST said: "The president cannot leisurely wait and see for a few months and then make his decision. He must explicitly express his intention within 45-60 days." Conservative republicans have indicated that if Reagan has no chance to win, they will select another candidate for the presidency.

According to reports, there are many politicians in the Republican Party who eagerly want to replace Reagan. As for the republicans, the Reagan card has been devalued. If the economy continues to deteriorate and no effective methods and achievements can be shown in foreign and domestic affairs, the consequences will not only affect Reagan, but will also bring troubles to the Republican Party in its campaign for the next presidency. Under these circumstances, it is better to choose another new card rather than play this faded old card.

At present, it is still too early to predict the tactics of both parties in the election campaign and their candidates for the next presidency. The republicans have a favorable condition, that is, they are currently in power. But, their unfavorable condition is that their performance is disappointing. Although the democrats cannot put forth any effective remedies and appealing big shots, they still can use Reagan as a target when launching their offensive. Mondale said: "The past 4 years of the Reagan administration have shown that Reagan 'did not pass the examination which calls for a president's leading capability.'" Although this tough exam will still last for another 2 years, if he fails in the whole term of office, how can Reagan face the examination of a second term? If we view the present conditions and their future tendency, we find that this master of the White House will not have smooth prospects if he tries to run for reelection.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CHINESE INVASION OF VIETNAM CALLED 'BIG MISTAKE'

OW090541 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 5 Mar 83

[Text] It has been 4 years since the troops who took part in the self-defense counterattack withdrew from Vietnam. Recalling that war, we cannot but realize that to order the invasion of Vietnam was a big mistake. Moreover, a series of serious strategical and tactical mistakes were committed during the war. We should point out that, when a certain person in the Central Committee decided to invade Vietnam, he had the idea of leaving things to chance right from the very beginning. He decided the time of invasion and the time of troop withdrawal according to his subjective desires alone. As a result, he fought a war of attrition, in which he lost more than he gained, and paid a grievous price.

To know only ourselves but not the enemy is taboo in war. The invasion of Vietnam precisely violated this taboo. Before the invasion, our army did not conduct any thorough aerial or tactical reconnaissance over Vietnam, nor did it fully consider the Vietnamese army's combat effectiveness and experience, accumulated over many years during the war of resistance against the Americans. It was the tendency of the then principal leading members of the military commission and the general staff department to take the enemy lightly which caused the heavy losses to our army.

Although our army had a numerical strength 5 or 6 times that of the Vietnamese Army, it only advanced 13 kilometers towards Cao Bang and Dong Dang in 12 days. Lao Cai was not captured until after 9 days of bloody battle. The heavy casualties our army suffered were unprecedented in the history of the PLA. An even more serious mistake was that someone disregarded specific battlefield situations and violated the minimum tactical principles to order our army to withdraw, before ceasefire agreements had been reached between the enemy and our army. As a result of the Vietnamese army's pursuit, ambushes, interceptions and stop positions. Our troops could not be withdrawn on schedule. Our army advanced into Vietnam only 30 or 40 kilometers from the border. Let us not talk about mechanized units. Even the infantry units can cover this distance on foot in about 10 hours. Nevertheless, it took our army more than 10 days to move out of Vietnam. Moreover, it cost several hundred, or even a thousand, casualties for each kilometer travelled during the retreat.

For instance, when a certain tank regiment was moving back towards Longzhou, it encountered nine ambushes and stop positions of the Vietnamese Army and lost almost half its tanks during the retreat. Two regiments of a certain division lost all but three battalions after they had retreated from the front because the Vietnamese Army blocked the fork in a road at (Longvashan) and laid ambushes along the road. At the (Tanlong) area south of Dong Dang, some of our units had to abandon their heavy artillery and retreat with light equipment due to the Vietnamese Army's incessant stop positions.

In short, the invasion of Vietnam, and the withdrawal from it 4 years ago, not only cost thousands of unnecessary casualties among our commanders and fighters. They also brought about heavy losses to our economy. Many facts about international affairs over many years prove that it is impossible to settle international disputes with force. In particular, socialist countries should settle outstanding issues through sincere negotiation.

CSO: 4705/100

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BA YI WARNS OF JAPANESE AGGRESSION, EXPANSION

0W040628 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 2 Mar 83

[Text] The Exocet guided missile made in France demonstrated its tremendous power in the Malvinas conflict between Britain and Argentina. The Japanese militarists have now succeeded in making a modern guided missile that is superior than the French-made Exocet missile. In order to turn Japan into a "unsinkable aircraft carrier," the Nakasone administration will deploy this kind of missile on the Japanese mainland. If necessary, this type of missile will also be deployed on China's territory, the Tiaoyu Islands.

The broad masses of commanders and fighters are surprised to hear the views expressed by some leaders in China that "China understands Japan's national defense policy" and that "Japan has the right to consolidate its own national defense." They note that as early as in 1970, Huang Yongsheng, chief of general staff at that time, had made a correct appraisal of the expanding Japanese military strength. He said that Japan's militarism has revived and that the Japanese reactionaries are blinded by the lust for power. They are vigorously carrying out aggressive and expansionist activities in Asia in a vain attempt to reestablish the greater East Asia coprosperity sphere. Many commanders and fighters point out that even now, after 13 years, his remarks are still of great significance.

Comrade Li Desheng recently pointed out in his speech at a meeting of the military commission: The general staff headquarters should pay particular attention to working out a plan to defend China's coastal line along the East China sea and should heighten its vigilance against the Japanese militarists who are aggressive by nature and the Kuomintang troops who are armed to the teeth with U.S. weapons. This is something extremely important.

CSO: 4005/649

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' DISCUSSES WEST GERMAN ELECTION

HK060752 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Mar 83 p 2

["Newsletter from West Germany" by Jiang Jianguo [3068 1696 0948]: "West Germany on Election Eve"]

[Text] There are only a few days from now to the polling day of the general election, and there is a kind of nervous atmosphere like that on the eve of a decisive battle covering all parts of the Federal Republic of Germany. Whether in the capital Bonn or in other big cities like Frankfurt and Munich, people can see campaign posters and portraits of candidates everywhere.

In newspapers, pages are full of reports on campaign activities, poll results and remarks by leaders of various political parties, television also arranged special programs for the election.

The coming general election is to elect the 10th federal parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany. Apart from several traditional parties, namely the Christian Democratic--Christian Social Union Alliance, the Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party, more than a dozen small parties, including the Green Party, which surfaced in recent years, will also take part in the election campaign. Compared with the 1980 election, the coming one is characterized by a hard-fought contents and an unpredictable outcome. At the last election, Schmidt, the former chancellor of the Social Democratic Party, were enjoying popular support, and the Union Party had no chance of winning at that time. So, the situation then was lopsided and the results were not unexpected. However, the major parties in the current election are standing against each other and holding absolutely different ideas over the two major issues of security and economy. The Green Party, which claims to be the fourth party in West Germany, has cut a figure in recent years and is participating in the current campaign for the first time. If it can win 5 percent of the votes and enter the parliament, the traditional situation in which the parliament is controlled by three parties will be changed. On the eve of the election, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and U.S. Vice President Bush came to West Germany on separate visits. Obviously, both the Soviet Union and the United States are closely watching the outcome of West Germany's general election, because the outcome of this election will inevitably affect the issue of missile deployment in Europe, which is related to the balance of the nuclear forces of the two blocs in Europe.



Whether the 1979 NATO dual decisions and the zero option should be carried out is the hottest topic in this year's campaign debates. The Union Party and the free Democratic Party basically stick to the stand of carrying out the NATO plans and the zero option; while the Social Democratic Party and the Green Party have explicitly indicated that they will try to prevent new U.S. missiles from being deployed in West Germany. The greens are showing a stronger opposition attitude at this point. Many voters with whom this reporter has contacted show strong concern for the missile issue. A professor at Bonn University said: The experience of having dealings with the Soviet Union for many years has shown that the Soviets have no sincere intention of peace. However, a young man wearing a badge of the Green Party said that the United States is not a reliable friend. He hoped that West Germany would become a nuclear-free zone. A middle-aged man who supported the free Democratic Party said that he did not agree with building up the military force; rather, he was willing to see the zero option. All this shows that the general West German public eagerly long for a peaceful living environment, but they have widely different ideas on how to create such an environment.

The economic crisis which has lasted for 4 years and, particularly, the unemployment figure which has hit an all-time high, constitute a major problem concerning the vital interests of the West German masses. Jobless people in February amounted to 2.54 million, showing a new postwar record in the unemployment rate--10.4 percent. When they talk about the unemployment issue, many West German people become quite agitated. Once, a teenage girl told us that there were many people out of a job in a small town with a population of just 40,000 where she was living. One of our guides, Mr (Kailter), has a doctor's degree, but he could not find a job for a long time as well. A university student told me that no one knows what is in the future for a college graduate.

Over the issue of what remedy should be used to cure the economic disease in West Germany, the Union Party and the Social Democratic Party attack each other and pass off the blame onto the other side. The Social Democratic Party blamed Kohl for the sharp increase in unemployment after he took power. The Union Party sarcastically answered back, saying that the serious problem was left over by the Social Democratic Party. It said that by ruling the country for 13 years, the Social Democratic Party had incurred mountains of debts. But the Social Democratic Party answered that debts should be judged by the way in which they are utilized.

The campaign has now entered the final stage and all parties are trying every means to contend for more votes. Recently the Social Democratic Party announced that if it wins the election, former Chancellor Schmidt will be invited to be the new government's economic adviser. This is obviously designed to expand the party's influence by making use of Schmidt's personal prestige. On the other hand, Chancellor Kohl of the ruling alliance recently announced that if he is reelected, he will immediately arrange a meeting with Soviet leaders. This is obviously intended to go along with those voters who eagerly hope that a compromise can be worked out in the U.S.-Soviet arms talks. For the last few days, Chancellor Kohl, social democrats' candidate Vogel, free democrats' Chairman Genscher and Strauss, leader of the Christian Social Union, have been

busily running about the country. They have met the constituency and made election speeches in big cities and small towns. More than 100 foreign reporters who were invited to cover the election separately participated in few campaign rallies. In the rallying places there are seas of flags and banners which are mixed up with dazzling lights and the hubbub of voices and martial music. Speakers are vehemently presenting their views with sweat on their faces, and cheers burst out from time to time among the audiences. But sometimes people just make catcalls and hoots at the speakers. Anyway, the scenes are very noisy and exciting.

The West German masses do take this election seriously. We have seen some secondary school students, who look childish and are below the voting age, listening attentively to the speeches and debates. In the meeting places, there are also some elderly people showing the same excited feeling as young people. At the campaign rallies, we also saw some young women, with their children on their shoulders, listening to the campaign speeches in evening cold winds. After the rallies ended, many people still remained in the squares, discussing West Germany's economic policies.

What will be the outcome of the election on 6 March? People in West Germany generally think that it is hard to say whether the two major parties will win an absolute majority or what the prospects are for the greens and the free democrats. If the two major parties match each other in strength and none of them can organize a government independently, then, which parties will join hands to organize a coalition government? This is also a big question on people's minds. The whole course of the campaign is permeated with a complex and unpredictable atmosphere. Everything will go as a member of the Free Democratic Party says: "Let's wait and see, all will be clear on 6 March."

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON KAMPUCHEAN TROOPS, PEOPLE

HK031058 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Feb 83 p 6

[Article by Yang Mu [2799 2606]: "Children, We Have Expected Your Return!-- Notes on the Relationship Between the National Forces of Democratic Kampuchea and the People in the Interior"]

[Text] Major news agencies and newspapers in the world have reported with different views who the people of Kampuchea, in the areas under Vietnamese occupation and the people in the guerrilla areas, are supporting. Not long ago, we spent more than 1 month visiting and studying this question in Xianli Province in Kampuchea: This place is a battle area on Highway No 6. We visited a village where Vietnamese forces had withdrawn earlier and where the national forces of Democratic Kampuchea have just been stationed. The attitude taken by the villagers is common in the interior of Kampuchea; it is a reflection of the ideological situation of the people living in the Vietnamese-occupied areas.

Boliayangtong Village is not far from the Lizhi Mountain Falls. It was surprising that when we entered the village with the national forces, this garden-like village, which is famous as a resort for foreign tourists, was empty. Stone benches and neatly planted trees are still there but the wooden houses have been dismantled by Vietnamese forces to build fortifications. The next day, when dew-droops were still clistening on the leaves, nearly 20 naked mountain dwellers came to the village to see the national forces. They said that they had originally lived in the village. Since early 1979, the village had been occupied by Vietnamese forces on many occasions and in September 1981, the village was suddenly destroyed and the villagers were driven out. The more than 190 people from the 33 households fled the village and began to live a "white-haired girl"-type life in the virgin forests. This group of about 20 persons cultivated a plot of land in the forests to plant sweet potatoes and fruits and there they have lived for more than 1 year, half starved. They came out of the forest because they heard that the national forces had entered the village.

The members of this group, which included five children and three women, were apparently suffering from malnutrition. Divisional commander of the national forces Mote gave them some medicine and clothes for the children that were brought from the interior. Hongke, a 40-year-old woman, emotionally dressed

her 7-year-old son with the new clothes she received from the forces and said to herself: "All our clothes were robbed by Vietnamese. My son, please wear these clothes that have been sent in by the national forces from hundreds of miles away!" The commander took off his grey coat and put it on Loke, who is 70 years old. This old man was malnourished and his hair was white and light yellow. He said: "I have not worn a shirt for 4 years and I was exposed to mosquitos and cold winds. This is the first time since then that I am wearing soft clothes!" Some other villagers said: "The Vietnamese robbed everything and the national forces sent us clothes and medicines, the national forces are good!"

When we entered Baobai Village, there were a dozen villagers at the village entrance. A white-haired old man sat with his family members on a torn mat. He presented a half bucket full of rice to the forces and said: "Much of my grain has been robbed by the Vietnamese but I present the remaining grain to the national forces to express my gratitude." An old woman, Pote, is 72 years old and she knew some fighters in the forces. She grasped the hands of these fighters and said: "Children, we have expected your return!"

We visited Delobianlong Village, which was occupied by Vietnamese forces on four occasions, and when we were just leaving the village, all the people insisted that the troops have lunch in their homes. Consequently, our plan to visit the next village was delayed. When we arrived at Delobiansi Village under moonlight we found that about 300 villagers had been waiting for 7-8 hours in a square to welcome the forces. The divisional commander announced the economic policy of Democratic Kampuchea, and when he said that "in the future we will no longer eat from the same big rice pot and the harvests belong to us," the masses were jubilant. Their cheers showed that the policy was welcomed by the masses.

The guerrilla and Vietnamese occupied areas are subject to Vietnamese reckless torture, diseases, cold weather and hunger. Although the clothes, medicines and food brought and given by the forces were limited, they were badly needed by villagers. The masses were particularly moved to see that wherever the forces went, army doctors would treat sick villagers. When we arrived at the village in the Jianla Mountains, we saw that the rice paddy fields were ripe and when transportation teams from Biandan Mountain and the national forces were helping the masses in harvesting. Some other fighters were helping villagers in building houses and carrying water. Villagers said that no gunshot was heard during the Vietnamese occupation. But with the arrival of the national forces, the masses regained their freedom and, feeling at ease, the sound of flutes could be heard again in the village although life there had not been considerably improved.

Since the second half of 1980, Vietnamese forces lived under the roofs or in the homes of villagers for fear that the guerrillas who had penetrated into the interior would attack them. This situation has caused more difficulties for the national forces in their attempt to kill the enemy. But the patriotic villagers in Jianla Province resorted to tricks to lure the Vietnamese forces and then told the national forces to ambush them on the road. Corps commander of the national forces Chengen said: "When the national forces attacked

the Vietnamese strongholds near the No 6 highway with artillery, we depended on information given by the masses to determine whether the shells hit the enemy or whether they inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. Thus, with such information, the national forces have been able to constantly follow the targets of attack and improve their combat skills. The people are our ears and eyes during the battles!"

When we were approaching the No 6 highway, we heard more stories about the people helping the national forces in battles. All the trees 8 kilometers north and 15 kilometers south of the No 6 highway were felled by the Vietnamese forces to prevent the national forces from approaching the highway under the cover of trees. The Vietnamese forces also constantly checked residence cards in the villages along the highway and carried out "mopping-up" operations. But such measures have failed to prevent the national forces from destroying and attacking the highway. The national forces have penetrated into the southern part of the highway and the northern part of the Tonglisa Lake where they have built up a wide guerrilla area.

The Vietnamese forces that have invaded Kampuchea have served as the best teachers by negative example, for the Kampuchean people. The 4 years of harsh facts have made an increasing number of the Kampucheans to be able to differentiate between the enemy and themselves, and consequently they have supported the coalition government and the national forces of Kampuchea with their own deeds. With this conclusion, we came out of the scarcely populated forests and ended our visit.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### WEST EUROPE-USSR DEAL ON NATURAL GAS EXAMINED

TIANJIN GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] in Chinese No 4, Oct 82 pp 36-41

[Article by Tang Weibin [0781 5898 2430] and Sun Qiaocheng [1327 1564 2052]:  
"West Europe-USSR Deal on Natural Gas--A Focus of World Attention"]

[Text] A fierce new quarrel has recently broken out between the United States and Europe over the question of West European countries supplying equipment to the Soviet Union for the laying of natural gas pipelines from Siberia to Western Europe. America has taken an uncompromising stand, but Western Europe did not yield to American pressure and openly asserted its independence. One after another the leading figures on both sides were drawn into the quarrel and made not the least secret of their feelings of resentment and anger, all this to a degree of acerbity seldom witnessed in post-war European-American relations. The Soviet Union was well pleased and Soviet leaders even personally went into action to add fuel to the flames of this quarrel, so as to widen the rift between Europe and the United States and reap its benefits in many directions.

In nature, this deal that was concluded between Western Europe and the Soviet Union at the end of last and beginning of this year thus became a major problem that affected three parties, Western Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union, and aroused widespread attention throughout the world. It touched upon the highly important economic and political interests of Western Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union and involved to a certain extent the strategy of the Western Alliance toward the Soviet Union, thus having deep repercussions on East-West relations and on the internal relations within the Western Alliance.

#### 1. The Origin and Main Content of the Natural Gas Deal

The start of natural gas trade, conducted in the form of compensation trade between Western Europe, mainly West Germany, France, Italy and Austria, and the Soviet Union, was the Austrian-Soviet agreement of 1968. This was followed by Italy (1969), West Germany (1970 and 1972), Finland (1971) and France (1972) concluding similar agreements with the Soviet Union. According to these agreements, the Soviet Union received several billion U.S. dollars of credit from Western Europe for the purchase of several million tons of large-

diameter steel pipes and other natural gas pipeline equipment to connect up gas lines from the Soviet Union to the above-mentioned five countries. Gas supplies started in 1968 to Austria, in October 1973 to West Germany, in January and June 1974 to Finland and Italy. Supplies of Soviet natural gas to France started rather late, namely only in 1976.

When the first oil crisis erupted in 1973, Western Europe started to gradually increase its consumption of natural gas. The average annual increase for the period from 1974 to 1979 was 4.7 percent, while the total West European energy consumption increased by an annual average of only 2.2 percent. In 1974 the Soviet Union signed the third agreement with West Germany and the second agreement with France and Austria, and in 1975 also the second agreement with Italy. These agreements were for the most part for the lengthy period of 20 years and in some cases even to the year 2000. They greatly increased Western Europe's imports of Soviet natural gas and provided the Soviet Union with enormous credits and huge amounts of steel pipes and other equipment.

The Soviet Union supplied the quantities of natural gas to the various countries as stipulated in the agreements, quantities that increased year by year, and in some cases supplies exceeded the amounts determined in the agreements. In the first years of the eighties, apart from supplies in excess of stipulated quantities, Germany was to receive 10.7 billion cubic meters (bcm) per year, which amounts to 17 percent of West Germany's natural gas consumption and 3 percent of its total energy consumption. Italy was to receive 7 bcm, i.e. 23.5 percent of its natural gas consumption and 3.7 percent of its total energy consumption; France was to receive 4 bcm, i.e. 15 percent of its natural gas consumption and 2 percent of its total energy consumption; Austria to receive 2.5 bcm and Finland 1.4 bcm, which would amount to 53.2 and 100 percent, respectively, of their total consumption of natural gas. In 1981 Western Europe imported from the Soviet Union as much as 27 bcm, which amounted to 9 percent of its total natural gas consumption and 2.2 percent of Western Europe's total energy consumption.

As the demand from West European countries for Soviet natural gas constantly increased, the original pipeline built in the early seventies could no more handle the ever increasing quantities of gas. For the early parts of its 10th 5-Year Plan (1976-1980), the Soviet Union therefore planned to build another pipeline. This trunk line is to start at Urengoi on the Yamal peninsula in Siberia, pass through Uzhgorod on the western border of the Soviet Union and run parallel to the present pipeline through Czechoslovakia to Austria and West Germany, linking up with the West European natural gas network. Its length within the Soviet Union is to be 4,451 km and its total length 5,500 km. Its capacity is to be 50 bcm per year, of which 40 bcm will be destined for Western Europe and the other 10 bcm for East European countries, such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

After many years of preliminary deliberations, the Soviet Union began in the spring of 1979 to conduct new negotiations with West German, French and Italian companies and financial groups for a business deal on a much larger scale. This then is the natural gas deal that is presently under discussion. Because the West European governments concerned gave the scheme their full



support, the Soviet Union first of all concluded a long-term natural gas supply agreement with the West German Ruhrgas Company on 20 November 1981, and followed this up with a natural gas agreement in January of this year with the French government-run Gas Company and the Italian state-run Hydrocarbon Company. These three long-term gas supply agreements constitute the main part of Soviet Russia's gas supply plan. It is therefore correct to assume that after signing these three agreements this large natural gas deal has definitely been fixed.

According to the overall plan of the Soviet Union and the above-mentioned three major agreements, also according to the somewhat later agreement with Austria and other possible agreements still in the stage of negotiations, the banking consortia of the countries concerned will grant the Soviet Union during the next 2 or 3 years credits amounting to about U.S.\$11 billion (the entire engineering project will require a capital of about U.S.\$15 to 20 billion). Of this sum approximately half will be provided by West German financial institutions at an agreed interest of 7 to 8 percent, i.e. far below the present market rate. These credits are furthermore guaranteed by the governments concerned and will be repaid by supplies of natural gas. The Soviet Union will use the credits to order from Western Europe 6 million tons of large-diameter steel pipes (3 million tons from West Germany), equipment for 41 compressor stations, 140 turbines of 25 megawatt capacity, a whole set of pipeline monitoring equipment and a large number of giant pipe-laying machines and cooling equipment. The design and installation of the pipeline is contracted for by the Mannesmann Steel Tubing Company of West Germany. After completion of the pipeline, the Soviet Union will deliver annually from 1984 on for 25 years to Western Europe the quantity of 40 bcm of natural gas, of which 10.5 bcm to West Germany, 8 bcm each to France and Italy and 1.5 bcm to Austria. The balance of 12 bcm will be available for any other West European country that may possibly want to contract for Soviet gas.

In this way, by 1990 West Germany will get 30 percent of its requirements of natural gas from the Soviet Union. This will be 5.5 percent of West Germany's total energy consumption. In the case of France the figures will be 32-38 percent and 5 percent respectively, and in the case of Italy 35 percent and 6.5 percent respectively. For the whole of Western Europe, Soviet gas will constitute 25 percent of Western Europe's gas consumption and 5 percent of its total energy consumption.

This deal, by its long-extended term and by the figures involved, exceeds every contract ever concluded between East and West and is therefore referred to as "the deal of the century" in the international press.

## 2. Political and Economic Reflections by West European Countries

The West European countries, West Germany, France and Italy, have all along had certain reservations regarding this deal. They worry that they will become dependent on the Soviet Union for their energy sources, that the Soviet Union will have a stranglehold on them, and that this deal will strengthen Soviet economic and political power which may become a threat to Western Europe. Controversy has therefore arisen within the West European countries



themselves. However, the parties in power in these countries still believe that this deal will bring economic and political benefits in a number of ways for Western Europe and they finally therefore decided to conclude the deal, West Germany's attitude being particularly positive.

The West European countries generally lack energy resources. Having twice suffered the oil squeeze, in 1973 and in 1979, they have become even more conscious of the fact that their economic fate depends directly on assuring sources of energy supply. Since there is constant political turmoil in West Europe's main area of energy supplies, the Middle East, its future supply capability has become unpredictable. To reduce excessive reliance on Middle East oil, the West European countries have adopted a policy of diversifying their sources of energy and of obtaining oil from a larger number of other countries. Holland, Great Britain and Norway have stepped up exploitation of the Groningen gas field and gas fields in the North Sea. Other countries have increased natural gas imports from Algeria and the Soviet Union. Other countries again have stepped up construction of nuclear power plants or plan to increase production of coal. However, the Groningen gas field is nearing exhaustion, the exploitation of the North Sea gas is beset with many difficulties, nuclear power plants entail the problem of pollution and the use of coal is rather expensive. The price of Algerian gas is very high and in the eyes of West European countries a source of doubtful reliability. Weighing all these possibilities, they still feel that the most appropriate solution is the importation of more Soviet natural gas, because Soviet resources of natural gas are plentiful, production is steadily increasing, its price is comparatively cheap and payable in European currencies, therefore does not require large payments in U.S. dollars, like Middle East oil, the price of which suffers from the fluctuations in the value of the dollar. In addition, Western Europe believes that the Soviet Union "is keen on hard currency," therefore "eager to become a steady supplier of energy to Western Europe," and moreover "will indeed fulfill all its obligations from the contracts." Finally, they take this deal to be an important and desirable link in their efforts to expand sources of energy and to improve the safety factor in energy supplies.

A further consideration is that Western Europe is at present bogged down in an economic crisis. The steel industry is operating far below capacity. The total steel producing capacity of the European Community is 200 million tons a year, but present production is only 125 million tons, which is 60 percent of capacity. At the same time Western Europe is in the grip of a serious unemployment crisis. The unemployment in the countries of the European Community this year exceeded a record-breaking 10 million. Against this, a contract for 6 million tons of steel pipes and large orders for machinery and technical equipment can provide not only a market for huge amounts of capital and new hope for the struggling steel and machine building industries, but also employment opportunities for people to be counted in the ten thousands. This is a strong lure for the countries of Western Europe, now suffering from the economic recession, and the governments of the various West European countries, especially also the financial consortia concerned, are therefore more than eager to conclude this deal.

The governments of Western Europe also place hopes of a political nature on this deal. For a long time the ruling circles of the West European countries have followed the strategic principle that "detente with a strong defensive buildup amounts to security." They believe that the natural gas deal will strengthen East-West economic bonds, and that this will help maintain the state of detente and prevent an East-West conflict. From a long-term point of view, economic relations that are constantly growing closer will to a certain extent contain the Soviet Union and broaden the political influence by the West on the Soviet Union and on Eastern Europe. Especially the ruling circles of West Germany harbor the greatest hopes from a continuation of their Ostpolitik.

It is thus not only that the natural gas deal exercises this enormous attraction for Western Europe in the economic field, but that it also fully accords with their political advocacy of "inducing transformation by drawing closer together," and also accords with their political consideration of continuously expanding the positive results of detente.

## 2. Conditions on the Soviet Side

The Soviet pressure on Western Europe for all these years past to come to an agreement is partly due to their own vital economic needs and partly due to considerations of political strategy.

Looking at the economic side, the deal with Western Europe can greatly promote the development of the Soviet Union's Siberian natural gas resources. In recent years the Soviet petroleum production developed at a slow pace. According to the 11th 5-Year Plan, the output is increased by only 17 million tons to 42 million tons, which is an annual increase of only 0.6 to 1.4 percent. During 1961-1971, the annual increase amounted to 9.1 percent. Coal output too is stagnating and at times even regressing. This state of affairs is hardly appropriate to meet the constantly rising needs of the domestic and export requirements of energy. The Soviet Union has very large resources of natural gas, already proven reserves amount to 40 percent of the world's total reserves (30,600 bcm). The speedy development of the natural gas resources would therefore be an important way to bring about a turn in the increasingly pressing situation of shortages in the energy supplies of the Soviet Union. It would also develop the Siberian economy and provide important conditions for the development of industry in the European areas of the Soviet Union. It has therefore also made one of the key items in the 11th 5-Year Plan to demand that production be increased by 38-47 percent during the term of the plan. In his political report to the 26th Party Congress, Brezhnev said: "We must speedily push the increase in Siberian natural gas production and make it an important economic and political task of the first rank." However, the Soviet Union lacks capital and is seriously deficient in technology and equipment. The Siberian gas fields are located in extremely cold regions and the difficulties of attraction and transportation are enormous. Without the importation of Western capital, technology and equipment, leaving the Soviet Union alone to do the development would be beset with many difficulties, financially and materially. At least it would require much expenditure, diverting rare materials from other purposes or military projects and would thus adversely

affect the completion of the 5-year plan, especially efforts to further expand armament. Even so, it is doubtful whether the plan norms could ever be attained. It is for these reasons that the Soviet Union is all along rushing about approaching Western Europe, Japan and the United States, trying by every means to attract Western capital and technology. Finding the United States and Japan hesitant, the Soviet Union has now set its special hopes on Western Europe.

Large exports of natural gas would give the Soviet Union a long-term stable income of foreign exchange. Since the sixties, the Soviet Union has strengthened its economic relations with the West and imported large amounts of capital and technological equipment. According to Western statistical data, the Soviet Union has accumulated a foreign indebtedness of U.S.\$17.2 billion as at the start of the eighties. It is now hard pressed to repay the capital and pay the interests. Ever since the "oil crisis" in the West, the Soviet Union has reaped large amounts of hard currency by exporting its petroleum. It is reported that 72 percent of the hard currency earnings of the Soviet Union are derived from the export of petroleum and other energy items. However, in recent years it has been difficult for the Soviet Union to expand its petroleum exports. In addition, due to the temporary oil glut in the world, prices are down, and the Soviet foreign exchange earnings are in an unprecedented slump. This compelled the Soviet Union repeatedly to sell gold in big quantities and to borrow money wherever it could, also to ask for moratoriums for debts due. The natural gas deal now in operation will provide the Soviet Union in a short time with over U.S.\$10 billion required for the project. After 1984 the Soviet Union will make a profit of approximately U.S.\$8 billion a year, calculated at the present price of natural gas. Cumulatively, over 25 years, this would amount to U.S.\$200 billion. This huge foreign exchange income, after deducting project expenses, repayment of capital and payment of interests, would still be an important means to improve its international payment balance, enable large-scale importation of technological equipment and would play an important role in promoting the development of the Soviet economy, in expanding foreign economic relations and even increasing Soviet military power.

In political respects, the Soviet Union has pandered through its natural gas deal to the strong desire of Western Europe to diversify its sources of energy supplies and of finding markets for its capital and its products, has tightened its economic relations with Western Europe and has pursued its policy of detente one step further. The Soviet Union will also take advantage of increasing West European reliance on Soviet energy supplies to create for itself a new lever that will enable it, in case of need, to exercise pressure on Western Europe. The Soviet Union also takes advantage of Western Europe's resentment to have its own important vital interests pinned down by the United States. The Soviet Union fans the flames of resentment by means of the present deal, in order to widen the political and economic conflict between Europe and the United States, intensifies the quarrel within the Atlantic Alliance and has scored a point in the struggle for Western Europe. Furthermore, at the end of last and the beginning of this year, just at the time when the United States asked Western Europe to tighten the economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union brushed aside the

American obstructions and signed the agreements with Western Europe. This helped the Soviet Union to break out of its state of isolation brought about by the Polish crisis. In confirmation of these facts, the Soviet paper "Socialist Industry" stated immediately after the signing of the Franco-Soviet agreement in January that this agreement is "full of political significance."

In short, this deal is an important Soviet step to extricate itself from its economic predicaments, as it is also the Soviet stake in the struggle with the United States for Western Europe and in promoting its "detente in a material sense."

#### 4. The United States' Strong Opposition and Western Europe's Insistence on Concluding the Deal

The United States all along maintained its opposition to the deal. Because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Carter proclaimed economic sanctions against the Soviet Union and asked Western Europe to support the American action by stopping the export of natural gas technology and equipment to the Soviet Union. After Reagan came into office, he asked at the seven-power summit and on other occasions that Western Europe break off negotiations and abandon the deal. The United States even proposed to ship additional coal to Western Europe to replace the Soviet natural gas. Last winter, as Europe and the Soviet Union speeded up the pace of negotiations, American opposition grew stronger and stronger. However, Western Europe did not give up and moreover ignored the American resolution at the end of last year that tightened up economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, a fact that greatly annoyed the Reagan government. The leader of the Republican Party in the U.S. Senate, Stevens, even put forward the motion to threaten Western Europe with the withdrawal of all troops. There were also two opposing views within the American government on the question of how to handle the natural gas deal. The Secretary of Defense Weinberger and others insisted that Western Europe should go along with the United States and impose sanctions against the Soviet Union. Another faction represented by Haig, at that time secretary of state, considered the deal as something that cannot be undone anymore and opposed excessive pressure, to avoid endangering the solidarity of the Europe-U.S. alliance. Reagan basically tended toward Weinberger's proposal and adopted an attitude of firm opposition.

The reasons why the United States government adopted this stand were first of all that they believed the deal would bring about serious unfavorable consequences for Western Europe and for the Atlantic Alliance. It would tie a "gangman's noose" around the neck of Western Europe as far as energy sources are concerned, creating "reliance on Soviet natural gas" and allowing the Soviet Union in this "extremely sensitive problem" to resort to blackmail by stopping their gas supplies. This would actually amount to "Western Europe's political independence being mortgaged" and would expose Western Europe "to even greater manipulations by others." Reagan said: "Reliance on Soviet natural gas can damage the solidarity of the Western alliance and will also affect our ability to react to Soviet aggression."

Furthermore, America believes that the Soviet Union is at present in economic difficulties, and adding the fact that it is already deeply dependent on the West and susceptible to the influences of the international market, any economic sanctions against the Soviet Union could have enormous effects. The present is therefore a very good opportunity to tighten economic pressures and force the Soviet Union into compliance. In Reagan's view the natural gas deal is precisely "giving the Soviet Union the hard currency it is now so short of" and "is strengthening its military power." Weinberger even admitted that this is a "most disturbing problem." He firmly demanded to stop "this kind of West Europe's potential suicide."

Furthermore, the hardliners in the U.S. government were highly displeased with the West European heightened sense of independence and uncooperative attitude. The hardliners were determined to uphold their dominating position and to tighten their control of Western Europe. They regarded whether Western Europe would abandon the deal and follow America as the indication of Western Europe's loyalty to the alliance and of their acceptance of American leadership. Moreover, America opposed the deal also because it did not directly touch America's own economic interests, not like the grain trade.

The governments of Western Europe ignored America's opposition and resentment. Their opinion is that even after full implementation of the present deal "Soviet natural gas could indeed occupy an important place in the natural gas department of the European Community, but it would still be of rather minor importance considering the overall energy consumption of the European Community." "It would not create a onesided reliance on the Soviet Union." The West German Minister of Economy Lambsdorff stated with extreme confidence: "We will not allow ourselves to become dependent on the Soviet Union in the area of energy sources." The West German government furthermore clearly and definitely announced: "Even if the share of the Soviet Natural gas in West Germany's consumption of natural gas will rise to 30 percent, it will not entail any risk as far as our energy policy is concerned." Not only that, there are people in West Germany who believe that since the seventies, Soviet-European economic relations have developed so swiftly and forcefully that a state of "one side having what the other side seeks" has evolved. Large-scale transactions will have both sides "rely on each other" much more and will even "have the Soviet Union more deeply involved in a reliance on Western Europe." Based on this viewpoint, the heads of the energy recourses departments of the European Community reached the following conclusion at their last year's meeting: The Soviet Union will not rashly suspend supplies because it cannot afford to inflict a heavy blow on Western Europe and thereby indirectly also "throttle Soviet economy too." Moreover, the government of West Germany, France and Italy are engaged in seeking alternative sources of natural gas and expanding their storage facilities. They believe that owing to these efforts to find substitute sources and other precautionary measures they would be able to cope with sudden changes, so that even if the Soviet Union would suspend supplies, Western Europe would not find itself in a vulnerable position.

It is quite true that the authorities in Western Europe are well aware of the political risks of the deal, but the Italian Foreign Minister Colombo said:

"There is no agreement that does not entail risks." This statement is quite representative for the attitude of those in power in Western Europe. The International Energy Agency also expressed the opinion that "reliance by Western Europe on the Soviet Union for natural gas is less risky than relying on the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries for oil."

In brief, as far as the West European authorities are concerned, the huge material benefits and the relatively stable state of detente are for them "realistic" and "highly attractive," and the need and pursuit of these benefits by far outweighs any misgivings as to the political risks involved for them. That is why they disregard the American opposition and are determined to trade with the Soviet Union.

### 5. A New Quarrel

On 18 June of this year, President Reagan of the United States announced that he will expand the scope of sanctions prohibiting exports of petroleum and natural gas equipment to the Soviet Union, which he first proclaimed on 30 December last year. In addition to equipment manufactured in the United States, the embargo is to comprise equipment manufactured abroad by affiliates of U.S. companies, or by foreign firms licensed by U.S. companies or using U.S. patents. This decision directly affects the Soviet-European natural gas pipeline project, because the more than 100 high-capacity turbines, the large pipe-laying machines and the sophisticated pipeline monitoring equipment needed for the project were being manufactured by companies affiliated with U.S. companies or using U.S. patents. The embargo therefore could stop the project or cause a delay of 2 or 3 years. This again would jeopardize the natural gas deal between Western Europe and the Soviet Union.

After Reagan announced his decision, he was immediately violently attacked by the governments and public opinion in Western Europe. Chancellor Schmidt of West Germany criticized America for taking these measures without prior consultation with its allies and "harming the interests of its allies." He also criticized America for extending its nationalism to West European companies. French President Mitterrand considered the American step "unjust and dangerous" and a "serious disruption" of European-American solidarity. Even the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, who always supported the United States, thought the American decision was "a mistake." The summit conference of the European Community on 28-29 June was of the opinion that the American decision "ignored the sovereign rights of other nations," adversely affected "the interests of America's allies" and "violated international law." On 14 July the European Community officially protested to the United States and again pointed out that the American decision "violated international law" and is "an unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of the Community," demanding that the United States repeal the embargo.

The West European countries had already decided not to observe the American embargo and insisted on fulfilling the contracts signed with the Soviet Union. On 22 July the French government declared that "it cannot accept the unilateral decision of the United States of 18 June," and clearly pointed out that "French companies will honor all contracts signed in connection with the



Urengoi natural gas pipeline construction," and that "equipment expected to be delivered in 1982 will be supplied on time." Later, Italy announced that "all signed contracts will be honored." The British government had already instructed British companies that they are not to obey the American embargo. Although the West German government did not make a special announcement, Schmidt indicated that "we will adopt the same attitude." West German bank consortia, still on 13 July, signed an agreement with the Soviet Union providing a credit of 2.8 billion marks (U.S.\$1.14 billion) to the Soviet Union for the purchase of natural gas pipeline equipment. The Soviet Union could increase the credit and raise it to 4 billion marks (U.S.\$1.6 billion).

As a result of these events, a violent quarrel and serious disagreement erupted between the United States and its European allies. For over 1 year there have already been deep contradictions between the United States and Europe in the field of the economy and of trade. The high interest rates in America, the rising exchange value of the dollar and limits on West European steel shipments to America have caused Western Europe very large economic losses. The United States too was very critical of Western Europe dumping its steel in America, exporting subsidized agricultural products and particularly of Europe granting favorable credits to the Soviet Union. The American embargo and the way of forcing it on others, at once infuriated Western Europe and exploded the piled-up resentment. The West German newspaper NEUER RHEIN said: "The ditch that is being dug for the Siberian natural gas pipeline is only half as deep as the huge ditch that opened up in the Western Alliance on this question." The European and American press pointed out with great concern that if the quarrel is allowed to develop freely, the Atlantic Alliance would suffer unforeseeable damage. However, up to this time of writing, the Reagan government stuck to its belief that the prohibition of supplying the Soviet Union with equipment is a "matter of principle," and has given no indication of yielding or seeking a compromise. The United States has also announced that it will penalize companies that violate the embargo according to the U.S. Export Control Law. The American attitude shows no flexibility at all, so that the French Minister of External Relations Cheysson commented that it is the first time in the entire course of West Europe's relations with Washington that this relationship is beset with so many difficulties.

The Soviet Union takes great pleasure in this quarrel and manifests an extraordinary interest in it. It declared through the Central Committee of the CPSU and through the Council of Ministers that the on time completion of the pipeline as well as the punctual start of gas supplies to Western Europe in 1984 is guaranteed. The Soviet Union also whipped up public opinion for an intensified criticism of the United States and played up to the utmost the damage which the U.S. embargo will cause to the economy and the relevant enterprises of Western Europe, thus further instigating discord and trying to profit from these circumstances. The situation is precisely as Kissinger lamented: "The original purpose was to urge the Soviet Union to exercise restraint in its economic and trade relations, and we were not to exploit the situation for our benefit, but it developed into an instrument for them to engage in sly extortion and blackmail."

## 6. Prospects and Repercussions

The above analysis reveals the complicated and difficult contradictions involved in the natural gas deal and their extremely complex nature. As the situation is now, we may make the following assessment as to future prospects and repercussions.

The transaction as a whole will be carried on. There are bound to be some repercussions from the American opposition and particularly from the American embargo as regards technical and equipment problems of the pipeline engineering project. Certain individual West European countries may possibly change their attitude under U.S. pressure, but the major West European countries involved will not easily give in; especially the attitudes of West Germany and France are very firm. Even if certain individual West European countries did waver, it will not have any influence on the situation as a whole. With the support of their own governments, the West European consortia and companies will supply the Soviet Union with credits and equipment according to their contracts, and West Europe will also be able to break down any technological barriers created by the United States. The U.S. measures will hardly be able to show tangible results. As to hints contained in American official statements that wider economic and political sanctions will be taken against Western Europe, they are indeed greatly disturbing, but considering the importance of the U.S.-European alliance, the United States cannot lightly go on playing this game of ever increasing tensions. As to the Soviet Union, it has already threatened that even if Western Europe should yield to American pressures, it will still complete the pipeline on time. The Soviet Union is not completely without the capability to construct the project itself, but considering the great eagerness of Western Europe, it will of course prefer to use West European capital, technology and equipment. The natural gas deal will therefore not be suspended, unless special serious events (such as a Soviet invasion of Poland or direct military expansion in the Persian Gulf) completely upset East-West relations.

Due to its long duration and the large figures involved, the natural gas deal will have wide economic and political repercussions. After completion of the pipeline, Soviet natural gas will take a markedly increased share in the consumption of natural gas and the total energy consumption in Western Europe. Even so, Western Europe will not end up in a state of serious dependence for its energy on the Soviet Union. However, Western Europe's economy will inevitably become affected by Soviet natural gas, and this will make Western Europe also susceptible to Soviet political influences. This deal will bring more economic benefits for the Soviet Union than for Western Europe. These benefits will play a major role not only in alleviating the difficulties of the Soviet economy, but are bound to manifest themselves in increased military expansion and will increase the Soviet threat to Western Europe and to the world. As to the possibility of the Soviet Union cutting off supplies as a means of extortion and blackmail, this can of course not be ruled out completely, as there are actually precedents for such high-handed action in the Soviet Union's diplomatic history.



The dispute over this deal allows an indirect reflection on the divergence of views in the West regarding Soviet strategy. America believes at present that a policy of detente is unable to restrain Soviet expansionism and that the losses from such a policy outweigh any gains. America therefore advocates sterner measures in the political and economic field to carry out a "new policy of containment." The viewpoint of Western Europe is quite different, as Western Europe still firmly upholds the propositions of detente. The Soviet Union has all this time not militarily interfered in Poland, which strengthened West Europe's confidence in detente. Western Europe is determined heart and soul to further advance its economic relations with the Soviet Union, the natural gas deal being one outstanding example. As the natural gas deal develops step by step, Western Europe, out of consideration for its own selfish interests, will quite possibly and in certain circumstances adopt an attitude of assuaging its own conscience and overleniency toward the Soviet expansionist policies and thus raise even greater contradictions with the American policy. This divergence of European and American opinions is bound to harm the role of the Atlantic Alliance as a counterweight against the Soviet Union and will be detrimental in the struggle of opposing Soviet expansionism. The Soviet Union, however, will fully exploit the divergence in the West to draw Western Europe over to its side, strike a blow at the United States and strive to gain many more advantages in the economic and political field. This deal also reflects the difference of European and American economic interests and widens the conflict in the West in the economic field and in the field of trade. Combined with the other European-American contradictions, it has built up all contradictions in the West into a mountain of piled-up resentments and brought unprecedented sharpness to the quarrel. It is true though, that Europe and America have common political and economic interests, especially the common will to oppose Soviet expansionism, and their quarrel can possibly be limited in scope to a "family quarrel," at times concealed, at times open, at times fierce and at times moderate.

The influences on the future East-West relations and on the relations within the West of the fight between Europe, America and the Soviet Union over the natural gas deal, which is just now unfolding, deserves our further observation.

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CSO: 4005/437

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'WAGE TIT-FOR-TAT STRUGGLE' AGAINST U.S.

OW101309 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 8 Mar 83

[Text] It is not at all surprising that in his recent statements the U.S. president violated the fundamental principles of the Sino-American communique signed only 7 months ago. So, there was no need for some individual leaders of the central organs to have been surprised by Reagan's anti-China statements.

Since the resumption of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, the U.S. authorities' position on our country has actually remained the same. U.S. presidents, from Nixon to Ford, Carter and Reagan, are birds of a feather. They all harbor a deep-seated hatred for our country and social system. The only difference among them is that some of them are gifted with a silver tongue and good at masking their ferocious nature while President Reagan's statements and actions are quite undisguised. Reagan has long been hostile to the people of our country. After assuming office, Reagan first received Taiwan's representative and indicated that the United States would forever guarantee Taiwan's so-called political independence. Following this, he banned the U.S. export of sophisticated technology and equipment to our country. On the proposal by President Reagan, the U.S. Department of State instructed American universities to impose restrictions on research being done by Chinese scholars there. As a result, Chinese scholars who are engaged in advanced studies in the United States are prohibited to touch any confidential information on the manufacture and maintenance of computers.

In addition, the U.S. Department of State connived at a U.S. District Court to bring China to trial, such as the default judgment on the case of the Huguang railways bearer bonds. The U.S. District Court even threatened to take sanctions against our country.

Disregarding the agreement reached by the two countries, the U.S. authorities have imposed restrictions on the import of textiles from our country, thus causing extremely serious damage to our country's economy.

In Sino-American relations, we have been fooled, for which we have only ourselves to blame. [Words indistinct] Lin Biao, Hunag Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo, former leaders of our army, pointed out: U.S. imperialism cannot be trusted, and the only reason for the change in the U.S. attitude toward our country is to try to use China against the Soviet Union.

Around the time of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States, Ye Jianying, Xu Xiangqian, Chen Yun, Huang Kecheng and other leading comrades of the party Central Committee also repeatedly warned that we must be careful in having dealings with the United States. [Words indistinct] we must not play into the U.S. imperialists' hands.

However, exactly what some comrades have been worried about has happened--the U.S. authorities have taken our country's forbearance and concessions made as signs of weakness. Thus the U.S. authorities have reached out for a yard after taking an inch and have reached the height of truculence.

This cannot but remind people of Comrade Mao Zedong's famous dictum: Some people have illusions about the United States. They are easily duped by the honeyed words of the U.S. imperialists, as though these imperialists would deal with people's China on the basis of equality and mutual benefit without a stern, long struggle.

Judging from the present trend in the development of Sino-American relations, we can establish relations with the United States on the basis of true equality and mutual benefit only by casting away our illusions and uniting all the anti-American forces that can be united to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism. Only thus will it be possible for Taiwan to return to the embrace of our motherland.

CSO: 4005/649

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

JAPANESE-SOVIET RELATIONS--Tokyo, 11 Mar (XINHUA)--At a meeting of the House of Councillors Budget Committee held yesterday, Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone talked about Japanese-Soviet relations. He said: Japan does not have a hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union. Whenever an opportunity arises, it always seeks to continuously exert efforts to make a breakthrough in Japanese-Soviet relations. However, so far as the national feelings are concerned, the issue of territory cannot be avoided. In replying [to] a question on whether or not he would visit the Soviet Union, he said: "Since the Japanese foreign minister has already visited the Soviet Union, the Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko should next visit Japan, according to the protocol. It is hoped that the Soviet Union would respect the principle of reciprocity." Dwelling on the report issued by the U.S. Department of Defense on 9 March on the Soviet military strength, he said: "I feel that the Soviet Union's enthusiasm in expanding its armaments in the Far East exceeds our imagination." At the meeting of the House of Councillors Budget Committee on the same day, Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe also said: "We seek to make a breakthrough in our relations with the Soviet Union as soon as possible." However, "the Soviet Union has already announced that it is aiming its SS-20 guided missiles at Japan. We cannot but heighten our vigilance." "We cannot help feeling that the potential threat is increasing." [Text] [OW171435 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1218 GMT 11 Mar 83]

REAGAN STATEMENT ON TAIWAN DECRIED--U.S. President Reagan said not long ago: Only when the peaceful reunification of China with Taiwan is achieved will the United States stop arms sales to Taiwan. By making this statement, the U.S. president not only trampled on all the communiques signed by China and the United States but also once again wantonly interfered in our country's internal affairs. The people of our country are indignant at this statement. Many PLA commanders and fighters as well as people say: Reagan's statement is nothing but a sophistical defense for the United States' two-China policy. However, the attitude taken by leaders of our country in this regard is hardly understandable. They have only issued statements mildly reproaching the United States for this but did not take resolute countermeasures against the United States' continuing anti-Chinese activities. [Text] [OW091027 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 8 Mar 83]

SPACE COOPERATION WITH USSR OPPOSED--A responsible person and some scientists of the space research center jointly made a suggestion recently, to the central

authorities that China exchange space-scientific information with the Soviet Union, but they have been severely criticized by some leaders for making this suggestion. The suggestion states: So far we have not been able to make a breakthrough in solving some difficult problems in space science and technology. We had hoped that the United States would help us in this regard. This hope now appears to be an impractical illusion. Tremendous achievements were made through cooperation between the Soviet Union and China in space science and technology. We hope that the central authorities will adopt our suggestion so that our cosmonauts will be able to fly in space at an earlier date. [Text] [OW091023 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 8 Mar 83]

TALKS WITH VIETNAM URGED--In commemoration of their comrades-in-arms who laid down their lives in China's self-defense counterattack against Vietnam to safeguard the Chinese border area, the commanders and fighters of the Yunnan PLA units have said: Chairman Mao pointed out that Vietnam and China were as close as lips and teeth. The Vietnamese and Chinese people were friends for many years. Why have they become enemies all of [a] sudden? If we are able to reach a true understanding with the United States and Japan through talks, why can we not hold talks with Vietnam to settle our disputes? [Text] [OW040458 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 2 Mar 83]

CHINA REUNIFICATION--The U.S. authorities have continuously expressed their view that Taiwan's peaceful reunification with the motherland is virtually impossible. They note that the living standard of the people in Taiwan province is several times higher than that of the people on the mainland. A U.S. economist explicitly pointed out that the average monthly income of a person on Taiwan is U.S. \$297 or 480 yuan renminbi. Therefore, not a single soldier or civilian on Taiwan would advocate Taiwan's peaceful reunification with the motherland, thus lowering his living standard overnight. [Text] [OW040510 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 2 Mar 83]

GDR ELECTION--The general election in West Germany will soon begin. Both the Soviet Union and the United States have attacked the other side for "interfering in the West German election." The United States criticized Moscow for "whipping up" an anti-NATO feeling, while the latter asked why U.S. and NATO leaders "are so interested in" the victory of a certain group. As a matter of fact, all these remarks of the Soviet Union and the United States were made for the West German electors. During this general election, various parties and factions in West Germany are holding different views and taking different stands on the deployment of new-type U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. It is not a secret that both Washington and Moscow have their own interest and favoritism. No one but they themselves are most clear about their purposes in criticizing each other for interfering in the general election in West Germany. ["International Jottings" by Zhang Hua [4545 5478]: "The Parties Concerned See Things Clearly"] [Text] [HK041222 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Mar 83 p 7]

JAPAN-U.S. JOINT MILITARY TRAINING--Tokyo, February 25 (XINHUA)--The Japanese Government says it will take an active part in joint military training with the United States. The Japanese paper, "Mainichi Shimbun," reports today that the Japanese Government in today's cabinet meeting finalized two documents on the subject. The documents believed that joint military training was conducive to future Japan-U.S. coordination in military action in a crisis. It would help maintain and heighten the reliability and the effect of containment of the Japan-U.S. security system. Japan's Self-Defense Forces held joint military training exercises twice last August on the Sea of Japan with U.S. mobile units and the aircraft carrier "Midway" as the major support force. Last month, the United States released a defense report declaring that the U.S. Navy would deploy aircraft carrier-based mobile units in the waters of the Sea of Japan and other nearby waters. "Mainichi Shimbun" predicted that chances of holding such joint military training would be frequent in future. [Text] [OW252212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1901 GMT 25 Feb 83]

DELEGATION TO MOSCOW--Beijing, Feb 27, KYODO--A six-man Chinese delegation led by Vice Foreign Minister Qian Qichen left here Sunday for Moscow for the second round of the Sino-Soviet normalization talks. The first round was held for about three weeks in October last year in Beijing. An official at the Chinese Foreign Ministry said the (?coming) talks, starting on next Tuesday, were likely to last also for about three weeks. The Chinese delegation will be joined by six other officials from the Chinese Embassy in Moscow. The Soviet delegation at the talks is expected to be headed again by Vice Foreign Minister Leonid Ilichev. Asked if he was optimistic about the coming talks before the departure, Qian told reporters at the Beijing airport, "It is not so cold here today, and I hope the weather in Moscow will also be warm," expressing the hope for substantial progress in the coming talks. [Text] [OW270451 Tokyo KYODO in English 0423 GMT 27 Feb 83]

INDIA'S DESAI ON NONALIGNED PRINCIPLE--New Delhi, February 28 (XINHUA)--Morarji Desai, former prime minister of India, held that there were two or three countries which were really aligned with either the Soviet or the U.S. blocs. They should not be regarded as non-aligned countries. He made this statement at a seminar here yesterday on the forthcoming non-aligned summit. He hoped that the New Delhi summit would take a definite stand on this problem. Desai also appealed to the summit to make a stand against the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and for disarmament including the destruction of all atomic weapons and curtailment of the use of conventional weapons. Desai also criticized the Indian Government for recognizing Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh. [Text] [OW280912 Beijing XINHUA in English 0848 GMT 28 Feb 83]

CSO: 4000/80

## PARTY AND STATE

### HUNAN RADIO ON INTELLECTUAL POLICY ISSUES

HK150257 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Mar 83

[Station commentary: "We Still Need to do a Lot of Work to Implement the Policies on Intellectuals"]

[Excerpts] The party organizations at all levels have done a lot of work in implementing the policies on intellectuals in recent years and have scored a certain degree of success. However, reviewing this work in accordance with the guidelines of regarding the intellectuals as a part of the working class and recognizing the necessity of relying on the workers, peasants and intellectuals in socialist construction, we find that we are very far from completely implementing the policy on intellectuals. The situation at Hunan University, which has recently been reported, is an outstanding example of this.

Why is the policy on intellectuals not implemented well in certain places, departments and units? The fundamental reason is that some comrades have not corrected their understanding of and attitude to intellectuals. They do not recognize the status and role of intellectuals in revolution and construction. Their minds are full of muddled concepts such as, if too many intellectuals join the party, this will change the party's nature, and, the workers and peasants conquered the country and the intellectuals rule it. These comrades do not understand that if the working class only relied on its own strength, the sole result would be trade unionism.

The fact is that there at present [are] too few, not too many intellectuals in the leadership groups at all levels. Certain intellectuals who should have been promoted have not been, and some who should be employed in important posts are not, or only to a superficial extent without any real powers. There is no question of intellectuals ruling the country in these conditions. Moreover, the entry of intellectuals into leading posts is for the sake of contributing their wisdom to socialist modernization, not for sitting down to enjoy the fruits of revolution.

There are also people who set improving intellectuals' working and living conditions against being concerned for the woes of cadres and workers. They do not like to see concern for the daily life of intellectuals. They are seriously affected by egalitarianism. These people do not understand that intellectuals are engaged in complex mental labor and many of them, especially middle-aged

intellectuals, still lack the proper living and working conditions due to them. Because of poor living conditions, they have many domestic worries, and quite a large number of intellectuals who have scored success in work cannot display still greater creativity, and some even become prematurely senile, fall sick and die. This is a major loss to society, the working class and the [word indistinct] people. Therefore we must clearly proclaim to the masses the special features of the work of intellectuals and be resolved to solve a number of practical problems that should have been solved and indeed could be solved without great difficulty, provided the effort is made, so as to afford relatively better environment and conditions for intellectuals to work still better.

Leading cadres must certainly not echo erroneous utterances of the masses and exaggerate the mistaken views of a few people by saying that this shows that the majority of the masses cannot think things out; and still less can they describe their own views as the views of the masses, and hamper the further implementation of the policies on intellectuals.

Of course today, when the intellectuals are being given more and more importance and respect by the party and people, they must be good at viewing themselves, strengthen unity with the workers and peasants and among themselves, and better play their role as a part of the working class and a force for the party to rely on.

CSO: 4005/647



## PARTY AND STATE

### REGION'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN SOLVING CRIMINAL CASES

HK180243 Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 10 Mar 83 p 1

[Report by Chen Liang [7115 5328]: "The Regional Industrial and Commercial Administrative and Management Departments Attain Achievements in Hitting Criminal Activities"]

[Text] The industrial and commercial administrative and management departments at all levels of our region have conscientiously implemented the decision of the CPC Central Committee and State Council on attacking serious criminal activities in the economic fields. There were 589 cases of speculation, smuggling and so on being examined and handled last year, of which 158 were major cases of illegally obtaining profits of over 1,000 yuan and 28 offenders were transferred to judicial departments to investigate and affix responsibility for their crime. This has played a certain role in safeguarding the socialist economic order and defending the four modernizations.

After the launching of struggle to attack serious criminal activities in the economic fields, the industrial and commercial administrative and management departments at all levels of our region immediately organized cadres to study the relevant documents of the CPC Central Committee and State Council, seek unity in thinking and deepen their understanding, and soon eliminated their idea of waiting for and rely on instructions from higher levels. At the same time, they transferred personnel concerned to strengthen the forces in handling the cases. The leaders and cadres of the industrial and commercial administrative and management bureaus of the region and various administrative offices also went down to help the work of cities and counties where there were rather many cases to handle. Because speculation and other criminal activities in the economic fields involved many departments, the industrial and commercial administrative and management departments cooperated and kept in close contact with the disciplinary commission, banks and departments of politics, law, taxation, communications and so on, so that large numbers of major and important cases were soon discovered, examined and handled. The industrial and commercial administrative and management bureaus of Yinchuan City and Shizhuishan City also adopted various methods to publicize to the masses the policies and significance of attacking economic criminal activities and mobilized the masses to expose and denounce criminal activities on a wide scale. According to statistics, 90 percent of the cases examined and handled in Yinchuan City in 1982 were exposed by the masses.

The industrial and commercial administrative and management departments of our region have concentrated their forces to earnestly grasp the examining and handling of major and important cases. By the end of last year, the whole region concluded 55 of the major cases and the rate of cases concluded was 76.4 percent. All the cases of Pingluo, Yacchi and Qingtongxia counties to be examined and handled 28 major cases involving sums over 1,000 yuan and transferred 10 offenders to judicial departments to investigate and affix responsibility for their crime.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### INTELLECTUAL BEATEN UP FOR ATTEMPTING REFORM

HK151019 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Mar 83

[Summary from poor reception] "On 6 March, (Liu Yuncong), a middle-aged intellectual in Luoyang City Dyestuff and Chemical Works, who had demanded that reform be conducted by implementing the system of contracted responsibilities, was beaten up by (Xu Xintang), director of the dyestuff workshop of the works. On learning this information, Mayor (Ren Puen) immediately sent a work group to conduct investigation and strictly dealt with this case."

(Liu Yuncong) is a deputy head of the technology section of the works and was a graduate of a university in the 1950's. He has engaged in chemical industrial work for approximately 30 years and has had relatively rich theoretical knowledge and practical experiences. Recently, he submitted a written request for contracting to run the Dyestuff and Chemical Works. He expressly declared that if the upper level would approve his request, he could guarantee that beginning from the date of approval the average monthly profits would be some 10 percent more than in 1982 and the annual profits would be 19 percent more than in 1982. His spirit of reform met with the works director's appreciation but was opposed by those who ate from the big pot of rice and iron rice bowl.

"As the consumption of raw materials in the Dyestuff Workshop exceeded the general standards by 38.72 percent, (Xu Xintang) stubbornly insisted on rewarding those who practiced economy in the works. (Liu Yuncong) put forward different views on this. (Xu Xintang) argued against him. However, (Liu Yuncong) insisted on his own view. (Xu Xintang) took up a broom and beat (Liu) on his head, gripped his coat collar and gave him a hard push. (Liu's) head rammed a table and he fell to the ground. (Xu Xintang) shouted abuse: I shall see you implementing the system of contracted responsibilities unsuccessfully. (Liu Yuncong) received medical treatment in a hospital. On learning this information, (Ren Puen), head of the Luoyang City reform leadership group and mayor, demanded that this serious case be strictly dealt with. He also immediately sent a work group to conduct penetrating investigation. (Xu Xintang) has been suspended from his duties pending investigation. The whole case is being investigated."

CSO: 4005/647

## PARTY AND STATE

### PROPAGANDA HEAD ON INTELLECTUALS TREATMENT

HK171021 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 15 Mar 83

[Summary] The Hunan provincial academic discussion meeting was held in Changsha yesterday to mark the centenary of the death of Karl Marx. Wang Xiangtian, member of the provincial CPC committee standing committee and director of the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee, attended the meeting and spoke. He demanded: "Comrades who are engaged in theoretical work must seriously study Marxist theory, have the courage to bring forth new ideas theoretically and push theoretical work forward."

In dealing with the issue of how to adhere to and develop Marxism under the new historical conditions, he laid stress on the problem of intellectuals. He said: "In the light of the province's situation, although we did a lot of work in implementing the policy on intellectuals and achieved certain results at the previous stage, we still have much work to do. The current problem is mainly that the influence of leftist ideology is still very serious. It is known to be expressed markedly in the following ways:

"1. Reversing verdicts on grievances, trumped-up cases and miscarriages of justice has not been carried out vigorously and thoroughly.

"2. Intellectuals have not been trusted politically and employed holdily. It has been held that they can be employed in work but are unreliable politically. They can be engaged in work but cannot serve as leaders. They can hold nominal posts but cannot be in power.

"3. Intellectuals' labor has not been respected and qualified persons have been suppressed for fear that gifted intellectuals can hold up their heads and become outstanding.

"4. Education and scientific research has been despised, the painstaking work of mental labor has not been recognized and the urgent problems of education and scientific research have not been enthusiastically and vigorously solved.

"5. The further implementation of the policy on intellectuals has been resented and rejected. It is said that this work has been done excessively and that if it is done more, intellectuals will get very cocky.

"With a view to eliminate leftist influence in ideology and practical work and further implementing the policy on intellectuals, it is now necessary to lay stress on grasping well work in four aspects:

"1. We must seriously study Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech at the national rally to mark the centenary of the death of Karl Marx. In the light of the reality of our own units, we must mobilize and lead the masses to further expose leftist ideology which exists in the course of implementing the policy on intellectuals, sum up historical experiences and correct guiding ideology in work.

"2. We must thoroughly solve in a short period a number of urgent problems of implementing the policy on intellectuals.

"3. We must seriously study and improve the administration over and employment of intellectuals.

"4. We must further improve and strengthen ideological and political work for intellectuals. Leaders at all levels must universally make friends with intellectuals. The contents and method of political studies of personnel in a specific field must be improved."

CSO: 4005/647

## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPLEMENTATION OF INTELLECTUALS' POLICY URGED

06022327 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 1 Mar 83

[Standard commentary: "Eradicate 'Left' Influence, Correctly Treat Scientific and Technical Personnel"]

[Text:] At a time when the whole party is calling for an appreciation of the value of knowledge and the role of intellectuals, an incident occurred in Henan's Fugou County, where a few leading cadres discriminated against scientific and technical personnel. But the heartening part of the incident was that, after being criticized by the party Central Committee and leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the Fugou County CPC committee made self-criticism and corrected the mistake.

Mistakes should be corrected, and a mistake corrected is a mistake eliminated. This is in our party's fine tradition.

Leading comrades of the central organs have, time and again, stressed that the four modernizations cannot be realized without knowledge or the intellectuals, and have repeatedly urged serious implementation of the policy on intellectuals, attaching great importance and giving full play to the role of intellectuals and creating favorable conditions for intellectuals to devote their services to the people.

Although many localities across the nation have done a great deal of work and achieved remarkable results in implementing the policy on intellectuals, although the intellectuals are playing an increasingly important role in the four modernizations nationwide, progress is still uneven. The policy on intellectuals has still not been truly implemented in some localities, departments and units. The Fugou County incident is a salient example in this regard, which once again demonstrates that, on the question of intellectuals, the 'left' influence has not been thoroughly eradicated, and the tendency of discriminating against, or even being hostile to, intellectuals still exists in some localities and units in varying degrees. Thus, the task of implementing the policy on intellectuals is still a very arduous one, and we still have to continue our efforts in this task.

Currently, the situation in the rural areas is very good. Progress in agricultural science and technology is playing a key role in developing agricultural

production. In this excellent situation, we must be far-sighted and take prompt action to really look into problems in agricultural scientific work, particularly problems related to the policy on intellectuals, and push the agricultural scientific and technological work forward as fast as possible.

CSO: 4005/647

## PARTY AND STATE

### SICHUAN PLACES DEMANDS ON NEW LEADING BODIES

HK101040 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] According to SICHUAN RIBAO, at yesterday morning's closing meeting of the first session of party members and leading cadres of departments, committees and bureaus directly under the provincial CPC committee to study the new party constitution, leading cadres of the provincial CPC committee urged that the new leading bodies, set up after streamlining organs, make new achievements in their work in the new year. They also put forward four points concerning how to carry out their work [word indistinct].

1. Make efforts to minimize the number of meetings. From now on, the convening of meetings of deputy secretaries and secretaries of county CPC committees or above by units directly under the provincial CPC committee must be decided by a work meeting of secretaries of the provincial CPC committee; and the convening of meetings of county deputy magistrates and county magistrates or above must be discussed and decided by a work meeting of the provincial governor or meeting of the provincial people's government party group. The convening of meetings of deputy directors and directors of bureaus at lower levels by department and bureaus must be discussed and decided by the party groups of departments and bureaus. Departments of the provincial CPC committee cannot convene meetings of deputy directors and directors of departments and bureaus at will. Generally speaking, meetings to discuss professional problems should be attended by members in charge of the work in various departments and bureaus. Directors of departments and bureaus need not attend.

2. Institute the system of division of work among leaders, each assuming his responsibilities at his post. Leading cadres can make decisions according to policies and concrete conditions on matters which they are in charge of. Major problems should be discussed and decided by party groups.

3. Extend the power of departments. Cadres of departmental level should have their duties and responsibilities clearly defined and should boldly assume responsibilities. They should have clear targets for their work this year and effectively fulfill their tasks in good time.

4. Organize old cadres who have stepped down to the second line or have retired but who are still relatively strong to carry out investigations in lower levels and entrust them with some tasks.

CSO: 1005 647



PART AND STATE

#### WUZHOU CITY COURT HEARS ESPIONAGE CASE

#171-52 Wanning Quannxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 17 Mar 83

[Text] On 3 March, the Wuzhou City intermediate people's court tried in open court the espionage case of (Liang Dingzhu) and (Yue Xuefang). In accordance with the law, it sentenced (Liang Dingzhu) to 7 years' imprisonment and deprived him of political rights for 2 years and sentenced (Yue Xuefang) to 3 years' imprisonment and deprived him of political rights for 1 year.

Since August 1981, acting on the instructions of secret agents of the Taiwan ROC, (Liang Dingzhu) had collected many times information and data on our political, military affairs and social order. He mailed or entrusted people to take them to the secret agents. He received funds for espionage.

Since April 1982, in compliance with secret agents' instructions, criminal (Yue Xuefang) had sneaked into the mainland from Hong Kong many times and collected (Liang Dingzhu) mail and carry out internal information and data.

The Wuzhou City intermediate people's court at first instance held that in accordance with the provision of article 97 of the criminal law, the actions of (Liang Dingzhu) and (Yue Xuefang) constituted the crime of espionage. It sentenced the two criminals to 7 years' and 3 years' imprisonment, respectively, and confiscated the money and property which the two criminals came by from arranging out criminal espionage.

END OF REPORT

## PARTY AND STATE

### BRIEFS

**QINGHAI CADRES' REMUNERATION REGULATIONS**--The Qinghai Provincial CPC committee and the provincial government recently formulated the provisional regulations on improving the livelihood and remuneration of specialized and technical cadres. The regulations was effective from 1 March. On the morning of 3 March, the provincial government gave an introduction to and explanation of the provisional regulations consist of nine articles. The main contents are that according to different conditions of different areas, the province is divided into four areas and a different amount of subsidy is given to a different specialized and technical post. The wages of graduates of universities and colleges who have been assigned to work in the Golog and Yushu areas and the wages of specialized and technical cadres who are now working in these areas can be raised by one grade. The conditions for specialized and technical cadres' rural family members to move into urban areas can be appropriately relaxed. The pension of a specialized or technical worker who has worked in Qinghai for a long time or has made special contributions will be appropriately raised. In housing distribution, all units must give priority to specialized and technical cadres. The regulations also provide that it is necessary to do everything possible to solve the education and employment problems of specialized and technical cadres' children. [Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Mar 83 HK]

**NINGXIA COMMENDATION MEETING**--In the course of building socialist material and spiritual civilizations in Ningxia, 527 advanced individuals of the Hui and Han nationalities and 221 advanced collectives have emerged that have learned from Lei Feng, resolved to make reform, worked selflessly, changed prevailing habits and customs, destroyed the old, established the new and made outstanding contributions. They have joyfully gathered in Yinchuan, capital of Ningxia autonomous region, to summarize and exchange experience while the 1983 all-people civility and courtesy month campaign is being carried out in depth. On 6 March, Li Xuezhi, first secretary of the Ningxia regional party committee, and other leading comrades of the party and government of the autonomous region presented banners and certificates of merit at a commendation meeting. During the session, Comrade Li Xuezhi conversed with some model workers and delivered a speech at a meeting. [Text] [OW090454 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1600 GMT 6 March 83]

**LEARNING FROM LEI FENG**--On the afternoon of 5 March, the autonomous region and Lumbi City jointly held a rally of more than 1,000 people to mark the 20th

anniversary of learning from Comrade Lei Feng. Ba Dai, vice chairman of the regional people's government, spoke at the rally. The rally read out the decision made by the regional CYL committee to title six units as collective pacesetters in learning from Lei Feng. [Summary] [HK080741 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 5 Mar 83]

ENMA PLANTS TREES--Leaders of the party and government in Xinjiang, the Urumqi PLA units and the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps planted trees in Turpan prefecture on 12 March. Those taking part in this activity included Wang Jiamao, Ismail Amat, Ionur Dawamat, Qi Guo, Li Jiayu, Yanabil, Wang Fuzhi, Cao Danoru, Anudong Niyazi, Bai Chengming, Yang Huansgtng, Ren Gebai, Simayi Yashengnuofu, Ba Dai, Tuchuti Shabier, Fu Wen, and Mushavefu. [Summary] [HK05558 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 12 Mar 83]

STANDING COMMITTEE MEETS--From 20 to 23 February the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee held a meeting of its Standing Committee to publicize and study the important speech by Comrade Hu Yaobang on the subject of the four modernizations and the question of reform, and after heated discussion on our province's tasks, methods and measures, all agreed that party organizations at all levels must resolutely promote the speedy development of reform work, grasping thoroughly this great task which has a bearing on the four modernizations construction. At the close of the meeting, first secretary of the provincial CPC Committee Gu Wenrui gave a speech entitled "Do Our Province's Reform Work resolutely, well and in an Orderly Manner" (the main points of this speech are printed elsewhere). Attending the meeting were members of the provincial CPC Committee Standing Committee and Advisory Committee, provincial deputy governors concerned, prefectural and city party committee secretaries, and the main responsible comrades from the various provincial departments and committees. [Text: "Promote the Speedy Development of Reform Work--Provincial CPC Committee Calls Standing Committee Meeting To Publicize and Study Comrade Hu Yaobang's Important Speech"] [Text] [HK041111 Xinhua SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 12 Mar 83 p 1]

PLANT TREES ON ARBOR DAY--Responsible comrades of the party, government and army in Shaanxi and Xin took part in planting trees with 500,000 of the masses on 12 March. Provincial CPC committee permanent secretary Zhang Ze told a reporter that special attention must be paid to quality in this year's tree-planting drive. Provincial CPC committee secretary and acting governor Gu Wenrui noted the problem of failure to take proper care of the trees after they were planted, with the result that not many survived. In the future, responsibility systems should be practiced in this work. After completing the tree-planting, comrades Li Qingwei, Bai Yinfan, Zhang Fichen, Lin Yiruo and others visited a commune forestry farm. In the morning over 40 cadres of the Shaanxi military district including Commander Sun Hongdao and political commissar Li Changyuan planted trees at a Changsha County commune. [Summary] [HK07061 Urumqi Xinjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 12 Mar 83]

CELEBRATE--The Shaanxi provincial and various municipal CPC committee held rallies in the morning to mark the 20th anniversary of the CPC Central Committee's

call to learn from Lei Feng. The rally demanded that party organizations at all levels continue to launch in depth the drive to learn from Lei Feng. Over 1,500 CYL members and young people attended the rally. Also present were responsible comrades of the party, government and army in the province Chi Biqing, Su Gang, Zhang Yuqin, Geng Wanqing, Long Xianzhao, Tang Hongren, (Yu Yijiang), (Guan Zi) and (Xia Yewen). Speakers at the rally included provincial CYL committee Deputy Secretary (Liu Yexiang) and representatives of PLA unit 35438, and industrial, commercial and academic units. Provincial CPC committee Su Gang spoke in conclusion. [Summary] [HK050314 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Mar 83]

MARK CENTENARY MEETING--The propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee and the CPC committee of the provincial organs held a report meeting this afternoon on the centenary of the death of Karl Marx. Some 1,500 provincial and city organ cadres and PLA personnel attended the meeting. Leading comrades of the province and party, government and army in the province and city including Chi Biqing, Miao Chunting, Xu Jiansheng, Wu Shi and Zhao Guomang attended. [Summary] [HK140322 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Mar 83]

CSO: 40057647

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### SHANXI CALLS FOR LEARNING FROM INTELLECTUAL

HK080848 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 7 Mar 83

[Excerpts] The Shanxi provincial CPC committee and people's government recently issued a circular approving a decision to learn from the outstanding intellectual Comrade Chen Huibo. The decision was jointly made by the provincial scientific commission, the provincial scientific association and the scientific and technical cadre bureau of the provincial people's government. Comrade Chen Huibo, a party member, is a high-grade engineer in the Taiyuan heavy machine-building factory.

In order to bring about a new situation in the province's scientific and technical work and push ahead the great cause of the four modernizations, the circular said, it is necessary to immediately launch an extensive and profound drive of learning from Comrade Chen Huibo on the province's scientific and technical front. It also pointed out that the crux of the four modernizations is to realize scientific and technical modernization. To this end, we must rely on those intellectuals who have mastered modern science and technology. Without intellectuals, the four modernizations will hardly be realized. Without intellectuals, it is also impossible to attain the magnificent objective of quadruplication. Although great efforts have been made in implementing the policy toward intellectuals in localities, instances of underestimating knowledge and science and despising intellectuals are still occurring in many places. Many pending problems relating to intellectuals remain unchanged.

The circular requested that leaders of the CPC committees and governments at all levels be enlightened and educated by the advanced meritorious deeds of Comrade Chen Huibo. They must seriously review the implementation of the party's policy toward intellectuals. They must deal with this problem in a strategic sense so as to consciously and firmly carry out all central principles and policies relating to intellectuals and create a new situation in the province's scientific and technical work.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'HEBEI RIBAO' ON CIVILITY, COURTESY CAMPAIGN

HK141340 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 34 Feb 83 p 1

[Report: "Provincial CPC Committee and provincial government call telephone conference urging a more extensive 'civility and courtesy' campaign"]

[Text] Abstract: The basic contents of the "civility and courtesy month" campaign as urged are to get rid of dirtiness, put an end to disorder and improve ill-mannered and inefficient service, to do a good job in well-mannered and efficient service, good public order and fine environmental surroundings, to further launch the activities to learn from Lei Feng and the advanced and to organize emulation drives in "five stresses, four points of beauty and three ardent loves." [End abstract]

Compared with last year, the "national civility and courtesy month" campaign in March this year is to be carried out in a more extensive, deepgoing, solid and effective way. Its basic contents are to continue to get rid of dirtiness, put an end to disorder and improve ill-mannered and inefficient service, to do a good job in well-mannered and efficient service, good public order and fine environmental surroundings, to further launch the activities to learn from Lei Feng and the advanced and to organize emulation drives in "five stresses, four points of beauty and three ardent loves," which were put forth by Xu Chunxing, director of the propaganda department and member of the standing committee of the provincial CPC committee at the telephone conference called by the provincial CPC committee and provincial government on the evening of 22 February, a conference on continuing to unfold the "civility and courtesy" campaign.

At the conference, Comrade Xu Chunxing demanded all localities to chiefly fulfill the following seven tasks in a satisfactory way while launching activities in "five stresses, four points of beauty and three ardent loves." They are: 1) To do a good job in fine environmental surroundings and continue to vigorously get rid of "dirtiness"; 2) To pay earnest and close attention to the movement of voluntary tree planting; 3) To do a good job in well-mannered and efficient service and continue to significantly improve the "ill-mannered and inefficient service"; 4) To strive to bring about good public order and order and propagandize the new constitution in a big way; 5) To launch the activities to learn from Lei Feng and the advanced in say more extensive and deepgoing way and to swiftly unfold a vigorous mass campaign for emulating and catching up with the advanced and "striving to become a new Lei Feng of the

1980's"; 6) To urge the CPC organizations at all levels to conduct education in rectifying party style among the party members as a whole; and 7) to launch the "national civility and courtesy month" campaign with the cities bringing along the countryside, the party and government organizations promoting the other departments and units and the provincial capital giving an impetus to the other cities and towns throughout the province.

Comrade Xu Chunxing pointed out that while paying close attention to the "civility and courtesy month" campaign, we must carry out activities in "five stresses, four points of beauty and three ardent loves" in a more deepgoing and sustained way and help make the "civility and courtesy month" campaign a regular practice and have it become institutionalized in the urban and rural areas throughout the province and really offer effective leadership to it. Under the unified leadership of the party committees at all levels, in light of the actual conditions of the specific localities, the department concerned and affiliated organizations, the departments and trades, and in conjunction with this year's reforms, all party, government and people's armed forces departments and mass organizations must separately study and program their own tasks, draw up operation plans which are really in conformity with actual conditions, adopt strong measures bearing the characteristics of the localities and trades concerned and do this work in an effective and earnest way.

Xin Chongzhi, vice secretary of the provincial CPC committee, made a speech from Baoding. He pointed out that in unfolding the "civility and courtesy month" campaign, we must arouse everybody to take part in and carry it out, stress practical results and prevent the emergence of such phenomena as formalism, coercion and commandism and waste. When the masses have really seen practical results, they will even more enthusiastically participate in this campaign. We must have priorities in our work, with the work in selected units bringing along the work in entire areas, with Shijiazhuang city promoting the other localities, and with all other cities as key sectors giving an impetus to the rural areas. The departments directly attached to the provincial CPC committee should play a leading role.

On behalf of the city CPC committee and city government, Jia Ran, first secretary of the Shijiazhuang city CPC committee, made a speech at the telephone conference. While expressing his active response to the call of the provincial CPC committee and provincial government, he pointed out that special emphasis should be placed on the following tasks during the "civility and courtesy month": 1) We must substantially strengthen ideological and political work and cultivate the moral excellence of the people. 2) We must continue to put an end to "dirtiness, disorder and ill-mannered and inefficient service," with stress on improving ill-mannered and inefficient service, and continue to do a good job in well-mannered and efficient service. 3) We must energetically get rid of the dirtiness and create fine environmental surroundings so as to bring about a distinctive change in the appearance of the environmental sanitation of the provincial capital. 4) We must firmly grasp the putting of disorder to an end and establish fine public order.

This telephone conference was called jointly by the provincial CPC committee and provincial government and was presided over by Yin Zhe, secretary of the

provincial CPC committee. The responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee and provincial government, of all prefectural, city and county CPC committees and of all prefectural commissioner's offices, city and county people's governments who were in their offices and the responsible comrades of the provincial, prefectural, city and county related departments participated in the conference.

CSO: 4005 '647



## SCIENCE, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INTELLECTUALS CRITICIZED

WIDE WORLD in Chinese 26 Feb 83 p 1

Report: "Certain Leading Cadres of Fugou County Discriminate Against Scientific and Technical Personnel in Defiance of Party Policy"]

[Editor's note: At the time when the whole party is attaching great importance to knowledge and intellectuals, some leading cadres of Fugou County have discriminated against and even insulted scientific and technical personnel in defiance of the party's policy on intellectuals. This event shows that there still seriously exists the poisonous influence of the "leftist" ideology which looks down upon intellectuals and knowledge. In order to correct our attitude toward intellectuals and further implement the party's policy on intellectuals, the Leading Group of the State Council has demanded an investigation into the event and report it in the newspaper so that everybody can be educated. So far, the relevant leading cadres of Fugou County have not yet made a self-criticism. The department responsible for this matter must handle the case seriously. (Editor's note.)]

Certain leading cadres of the Fugou County CPC committee and government in Henan Province have discriminated against and even insulted scientific and technical personnel in defiance of the party's policy on intellectuals. This has brought a bad influence. In accordance with the written instructions of the Leading Group of the State Council, the Henan provincial CPC committee has decided to investigate and handle the case.

Recently, the broad masses of commune members have spoken highly of the scientific and technical workers, calling them the "reds of wealth." However, the "reds of wealth" even spread in this county. Liu Xiang, a scientific technician, is a representative of these "reds of wealth." In 1979, when he was transferred to be head of the county science committee, he had to make preparations for the "second congress" of this committee. During the preparations, he and Zhou Jiamin, vice director of the county science committee, often reported to Cao Weidong, vice county party secretary. In the list of the candidates for this committee, the directors of the county science committee and member of the presidium of the county science committee were the work report to be delivered by the county science committee at the congress. Cao also held the same position in the county science committee.

However, on the preceding day of the convening of the congress, Mu Yusheng, director of the county CPC committee organization department, called Liu Fengli to the county CPC committee and asked him: "Why did you not report the candidate name list for the science association to the county CPC committee? What kind of people have you selected? They cannot become members of the presidium so easily"; but when Liu explained that this had been approved by Cao Weidong, the vice magistrate, the latter denied it right away. Then Mu Yusheng crossed out more than 20 names from the list of candidates for the presidium, including directors of four societies and former chairman of the science association (an agricultural technician). On the list of 21 candidates for the presidium suggested by Mu Yusheng, 6 of the 7 chief physicians in the medical society and 4 engineers of the forestry society were excluded. When this list was discussed, many representatives strongly objected to it.

When Liu Huaqing, vice secretary of the county CPC committee, learned that Liu Fengli would deliver the work report on the first day of the congress, he said: "The agenda should be changed. The secretaries will be on the rostrum. Why should they listen to your report?" At the opening ceremony, Liu Huaqing even rebuked the scientific and technical workers in his speech, saying: "You, engineers and agricultural technicians, have been very active asking for houses and benefits and arrangements for the daily life and work of your dependents!" Mu Yusheng added: "The organizational department of the prefectural CPC committee has complained of this for a long time. In my opinion, you are not worthy of being called experts any more. When you are not called experts any more, you will stop complaining!" On hearing this, about 200 of the 297 representatives left the conference hall. They said: "It seems that we shall always be called stinking intellectuals throughout our lives!" When the meeting resumed, there were only 78 representatives.

In the congress, many scientific and technical workers have asked for transfer to other places. Even Liu Fengli, the "god of wealth," was demanded to leave this county.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### ARTICLE ON MODERNIZATION, MODERNISTS VIEWED

HK151357 Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese No 11, 7 Nov 82 pp 13-17

[Article by Li Di [3810 6611]: "Some Questions About 'Modernization and the Modernists'"]

[Text] Recently, the literary and art circles of our country have done a lot of valuable work in introducing, studying and commenting on foreign literature and art. For instance, the introduction and study of Western modernists' literature and art has been quite dynamic.

For a fairly long time in the past, because of the ideological influence of the "leftist" deviation, we were also closed to the outside world in literature and art. We seldom studied or approached foreign literature and art, still less did we analyze the literature and art of Western modernists. It was simply rejected. This is disadvantageous to the development of our socialist literature and art. Therefore, it is necessary to actively unfold study of the works and trends of foreign literature and art. By doing so we can broaden our outlook and inspire our ways of thought, what is more, we can discard its waste matter and absorb its nutriment to enrich our creative works. As to its lessons, they can serve as a warning.

In the discussion on the literature and art of Western modernists in the past few years, there have been many articles that have made a historic and scientific analysis of this artistic school. This enables us to take a rather practical view of this artistic trend.

But in the discussion, there are also some opinions that are obviously one-sided or wrong.

Not long ago, I read an article written by Comrade Xu Chi entitled "Modernization and the Modernists" which was published in the first issue of WAIGUO WENXUE YANJIU (STUDY OF FOREIGN LITERATURE) in March 1982.

In this article, the author made some analyses of the literature and art of Western modernists, affirmed some of their strong points and positive factors and also pointed out their shortcomings and negative factors. Some of his views merit attention. However, taking the article as a whole, I think the author's viewpoint merits discussion, some of his arguments are

contradictory and others are simply incomprehensible. Therefore, I candidly present my thoughts for the enlightenment of Comrade Xu Chi and the readers.

1. How should we evaluate the literature and art of Western modernists?

According to Comrade Xu Chi, "the literature and art of Western bourgeois modernists originates from the source of the people's life," "it reflects the inherent spirit of summary of the relations of material life." Therefore, "modernists have replaced the critical realism and nearly occupied the entire sphere of Western literature and art." I suppose we have to make clear some theoretical problems in these points.

According to common understanding, the literature and art of Western modernists is a reflection of the spiritual state of some people and the real life of Western capitalist society after the two world wars. In this society, social contradiction was extremely sharp. Although the material life was considerably developed, spiritual life was beset with crises and confusion and relations between men were usually those of intriguing against each other, mutual suspicion and deception. Spiritually, many people were empty and desperate and pessimistic toward their future life, having lost faith and so on. Modernists' literature and art was an outcome of this kind of social condition and background. What kind of people's life in a capitalist society does this literature and art reflect? Generally speaking, it mainly reflects the psychological state, ideological feelings and substance of livelihood of the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals of society. I think there is a certain basis for this viewpoint, but Comrade Xu Chi indiscriminately insists that the literature and art of Western modernists "originates from the source of the people's life." Does this conform to reality?

Further, he further insisted in his article: The literature and art of Western modernists "reflects the inherent spirit of such relations of material life." What does the "summary of relations of material life" refer to? Does this refer to "social system," "social-economic formation" and "social relations"? If so, according to Marxist explanation, the meaning of these concepts refers to the summary of certain social economic systems and the superstructure that accords to it in history. Marx said: "The summary of production relation forms into so-called social relations and turns into a society that develops to a certain historical stage and that has peculiar features." ("Selected Articles of Marx and Engels," 1911, 277) Each social-economic formation has its peculiar historical law of occurrence and development and at the same time has the general law of playing its role in all social-economic formations. These laws bind all social-economic formations into a unified and lawful process of world development. If the literature and art of Western modernists reflects the "inherent spirit" of social relations of capitalist society and also reflects the "inherent spirit" of such "summary," then naturally it would mean that such literature and art has profoundly exposed the internal essence and social relations of capitalist society and exposed the internal development law of capitalist society. Can we make such an evaluation of the literature and art

of Western modernists? As a matter of fact, in his own article, Lu Hsiang-shan also holds that "there were a considerable number of inferior works" written by modernists. "Their shortcomings are mainly pessimism and disappointment, dissatisfaction with the present system, lack of faith, failure to find ideals and ceaseless searching for them." If this is the case, then it may well be asked, how does this sort of literature and art reflect the "inherent spirit" and how does it artfully reflect the essential law and aspects of social life of the respective times? It is a pity that Lu did not elaborate in his article and also did not provide convincing analysis.

2. How should we regard the current state and patterns of the development of literature and art in Western society?

In his article, Lu says: "The critical realistic literature and art, and literature and art of Western modernists came into being almost simultaneously," and "critical realism brought forth several famous great masters having great influence." But the literature and art of modernists has also brought forth large numbers of great poets, writers and artists. At the beginning of the 20th century, when some great stars of realistic literature and art perished, the new stars of modernism leapt to the center of the time. Modernists gradually replaced critical realism and almost occupied the entire sphere of Western literature and art. Although "at the time of its first appearance," this literary and art school "suffered all kinds of mockery and curses," it "gradually became popular and was fashionable for a time. Now, after a century or more of its course, it has become a main term in the literature and art of the Western world." Lu also has some impressions: 1) Although the literature and art of critical realism and that of modernists came into being simultaneously, the latter had greater vitality and corresponded more with the development of the time. As a result, after a struggle, modernism "triumphed," while the "new star" of modernism "rose to the center of the stage"; "Now," the literature and art of Western modernists "has become dominant in the literature and art of the Western world" and "it has almost occupied the entire sphere of Western literature and art." As it is, are there no other sort of literature apart from it? Is there something to counteract its vitality? According to an superficial understanding, we might divide present parts in the literature and art of the Western world into three component parts: 1) Critical realism. It is still developing and has not been completely exposed and attacked capitalist society; it works on socialist principles. This literary and art trend is popular in the proletarian countries. It represents the interests of the proletariat and the oppressed people. Although the people have not completely won the day, the literature and art of this trend still have vitality and will continue to exert its influence. People such as George Bernard Shaw, Bertolt Brecht, etc. (1941-1944) were renowned representatives of this trend. 2) The literature and art trend. The literature and art trend has not "perished" but it is not so vigorous as it was in the 19th century. It is still a part of the literature and art world. Although they have a long history, they are not so vigorous as they were in the 19th century.

comparable to the literature and art of critical realism. As to the extent to which they are divorced from the masses, even American artistic historians have said: "In the multifold modernist schools, we have never seen in the history of art such a great antagonism and distance between the audience and artist."

Which of the above opinions actually approaches objective reality? Can we consider the development of Western literature and art as a sole trend and that has reached the summit of literature and art of mankind and merits worship?

3. What are the relations between "the literature and art of Western modernists" and "the development of the Western economy"?

Xu says: "As a reflection of Western material life, no matter how the Western modernists are cursed, this has not hindered the development of Western economy, but seems, on the contrary, to fit in with it to a considerable extent." He continues: "Naturally, there are two contradictory aspects in the civilization of Western modernization--material and spiritual. Generally speaking, its spiritual civilization falls short of its material civilization and it is quite obvious that it has not held back material civilization. The literature and art of Western modernists has, to a certain extent, satisfied the spiritual needs of the peoples of the Western world."

There are also lots of problems here that need looking into. In fact, Xu has approached two problems: 1) the relationship between the social economic base and the superstructure; 2) the relationship between spiritual and material civilization.

As far as my own understanding, since the development of capitalism, what has hindered its material economic base is not a wonderful thing. The proletarian masses of the people there are every day undermining the foundation of their economic base. They do not hesitate to sacrifice their lives, including their struggle in the ideological, literary, artistic and theoretical fronts, with the sole purpose of undermining this foundation. How can we no longer bear the existence of the economic basis and social order of capitalist society and have determined to overthrow and transform it. The value of those literary and art works that have profound social significance, including the works of those rather outstanding modernists is, no doubt, intelligent: They must "through the true description of actual relations, break through the traditional illusions of popularity of these relations, unsettle the optimism of the bourgeois world and unavoidably bring about the abolition of the eternal existence of the present existing state of affairs." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 454)

Is it really wrong, what then does the literature and art of Western modernists "fitting" the economic base of capitalist society mean? Is it conducive to the consolidation of this foundation? Is it a good thing to be conducive to consolidate this foundation? If it is, how then does such literature and art that exposes, attacks and undermines

the economic basis and social system of capitalist society? I think the reason why we have affirmatively evaluated some good literary and art works of Western modernists is that from its ideological substance, they have exactly exposed and attacked the darkness of capitalist society, undermined the economic basis of capitalist society and are disadvantageous to bourgeois rule. Therefore, here we have a problem of evaluation standards that cannot be vague. If it is thought that it is not a good thing for the literature and art of Western modernists to fit the economic basis of capitalist society, when then did Xu Chi not put forward this question in a clear-cut and praising manner? This is indeed incomprehensible.

On the relations between material and spiritual civilization, Comrade Xu Chi holds that "spiritual civilization" is good provided it does not hold back material civilization. Is this not mixing up the material and spiritual civilization of capitalist society with the material and spiritual civilization of socialist society? Does this not mean ruling out the class nature of spiritual civilization? In my opinion, in two societies which are fundamentally different in nature, there are differences even in material civilization. At least, in the direction of development, which measures are adopted, how material civilization is achieved and whom this material civilization serves, they are also not the same. The 12th CPC Congress has clearly pointed out: It is imperative to ensure the correct direction of development for our material civilization. It is thus evident that the orientation for development of material civilization of capitalist society is fundamentally different from that of our own. If so, is it right to say that "spiritual civilization" is good provided it does not hold back material civilization? What is the nature of this spiritual civilization? Is it not necessary to have a class viewpoint? Moreover, there is also a theoretical question, that is, is the law of disequilibrium between the development of material production and artistic production proposed by Marx no longer applicable in contemporary capitalist society? This should also be thrashed out.

.. Can the literature and art of Western modernists "depict the new appearance of the new world to come"? Can it "create confident and idealistic works advantageous to the progress of mankind"?

Comrade Xu Chi's answer is absolutely affirmative. The author says: "In the course of its constant development, we believe that the literature and art of Western modernists will create confident and idealistic works that are advantageous to the progress of mankind and depict the new appearance of the new world to come."

This kind of answer cannot but make people suspicious. The so-called "literature and art of Western modernists" of course refers to the phenomenon of literature and art that appeared in Western literary circles, such as symbolism, expressionism, futurism, existentialism, dadaism, surrealism, the abstract school, impressionism, cubism, the school of the absurd, the new fiction and so on. The general designation "literature and art of Western modernists" is a specific literature and art concept that has not exceeded the limits of bourgeois ideology. From the point of view



of source, it is an outcome of the era of Western monopoly capital; as to its ideological and philosophical source, it is based on all types of bourgeois idealism, such as irrationalism, intuitionism, skepticism, agnosticism, voluntarism, existentialism, the superman philosophy, vitalism, Freudianism and so on. Compared with the literature and art of socialism which is guided by Marxism, they are fundamentally different ideological systems. With regard to this point, Comrade Xu Chi also has his own opinion. He explains: There are three characteristics of the literature and art of Western modernists, that is "obscure, peculiar and pornographic." Xu continues: "Its shortcomings are mainly that it is too pessimistic and hopeless" and "has lost faith and has not yet found ideals." Since it is such a bourgeois literature and art, on what basis do we come to the conclusion that it can create "confident and ideal works and depict the new appearance of the new world to come"? What does the so-called "confident idealism" refer to? Is it the communist ideal? And what does the so-called "new world" refer to? Is it socialism and communism? It would be strange if it were. Obviously, since it is the literature and art of bourgeois modernists based on the philosophy of idealism, how then can it have communist ideals? If there are such strange things under heaven, is it not totally unnecessary to create proletarian and socialist literature and art?

Can the material building of bourgeois modernization directly and spontaneously create a "new world"?

Comrade Xu Chi thinks that it can. He says: "Material civilization will inevitably impel the spiritual civilization forward. The material civilization of bourgeois modernization is itself creating material conditions for the new world and these material conditions are bound to create spiritual civilization for the new world. It is unquestionable that this new world will inevitably come."

Let us first consider the problems. First, can the "material building of bourgeois modernization" spontaneously create a "new world"--socialism and communism? Second, will the "material building of bourgeois modernization" inevitably create spiritual conditions for the new world--socialist ideology and communist ideology?

From the Marxist viewpoint, this is absolutely impossible. Because capitalism and socialism are two social formations fundamentally different in nature. The transition from the former to the latter can only be achieved through proletarian revolution, seizing political power, destroying the old state machine and reforming the old superstructure. If we agree with Comrade Xu Chi's statement, doesn't it mean that it is evidently wrong to regard the proletarian revolution and that capitalism can directly and spontaneously grow into socialism? The only thing that is true is that there is the difference between this emerging "new world" and capitalism. It seems that the material and spiritual conditions of capitalism is equivalent with that of socialism. But in fact, it is not.



6. Is literature and art the same thing as science and technology? How can we differentiate the "past school" with the "modern school"?

Comrade Xu Chi criticized people, saying: "Here a lot of people still appreciate the ancient qin [Chinese classical stringed instrument], traditional Chinese paintings, ancient poems, Kunqu opera and so on. They are infatuated with the past and thus belong to the 'past school.' Some other people cannot distinguish the contemporary world which seriously pollutes the environment with highly developed four-dimensional modernization. They are in fact people of the contemporary category, but not modernists." Probably the people Xu Chi criticized were those who were opposed to the use of the literature and art of Western modernists in our country.

Are these criticisms reasonable? True, when science and technology has developed to a new stage, backward science and technology is of no use any more. For instance, with the invention of electric light, it was no longer necessary to use the kerosene lamp. But can literature and art be treated in this same way? With modern literature and art, people have not abandoned ancient literature and art, but still appreciate it. It cannot be replaced and we cannot adopt a nihilist attitude to cut ourselves off from it. Marx said: The art and epics of Greece "still provide us with artistic enjoyment and in a certain sense also constitute a norm and an unattainable model." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 114) If appreciating classical art is being "infatuated with the past," is it the case that the complete destruction of our ancient art heritage and complete split with it, like what the "gang of four" did, counts as being "modernists"? It is said that in the literature and art world of Western modernists, there are people who advocate this. But is this worth learning from? Can we use such criteria to judge whether people are of "past school," "contemporary school" or "modern school"?

7. What is "Marxist modernism"?

The title of Xu Chi's article is "Modernization and the Modernists." The basic viewpoint of the whole article is that no matter in whatever society, provided there emerges material building of modernization, it is bound to create modernist literature and art. This is true of Western society and of the society of our country as well. Whoever resists it belongs to the "past school," or at most "contemporary school," but cannot belong to the "modern school." No matter how much people curse, hinder or dislike the literature and art of Western modernists, it will eventually emerge in our country. The author repeatedly proves this basic viewpoint. He says: "To be sure, before attaining the building of modernization in our country, it would be impossible for us to have modernist literature and art," "but regardless of any condition, we will realize the four modernizations of socialism and at that time we will have our literature and art with modernist ideology and feelings." The author further emphasizes that we "must have Marxist modernism."

Viewed superficially, the emergence of "modernist literature and art" in our country proposed by Comrade Xu Chi seems to be different from the

"literature and art of Western modernists," because he has added the qualifications "Marxist," "ours" and "based on the combination of revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism." But looking carefully, there seems to be no difference at all. For instance, the author says: "In the past 2 years, the tune of modernization has been relatively high, and our modernists have also displayed their abilities with some abstract drawings, hazy poems and stream of consciousness novels." Are these sorts of literature and art "Marxist modernism"?

Here is another example. According to common sense, "literature and art of modernists" or "literature and art of modernism" are special nouns with particular substance. When these concepts are raised, people would think that they refer specially to the bourgeois artistic trends and schools called various kinds of "-ism" which have emerged in Western literature and art this century. Their substance and nature are quite definite and they are fundamentally different to the ideological system and world outlook of Marxism. Now, Comrade Xu Chi simply links the two things together. Does it mean that such a combination will change the nature and substance of "the literature and art of Western modernism"? This reminds me of the concepts of individualism, idealism, anarchism, fascism, nihilism, dadaism, expressionism, surrealism and so on. Can we change the nature and substance of these words by prefixing them with the word "Marxism"? Can we advocate "Marxist idealism," "Marxist dadaism," and so on? Viewed from the promotion and commendation of "abstract drawings, hazy poems and novels of the stream of consciousness" by Comrade Xu Chi, the advocacy of "Marxist modernism" is in fact advocating the literature and art of Western modernism.

These are my thoughts and some questions after reading Comrade Xu Chi's article. Comrade Xu Chi said in his article: "We must apply Marxism to studying modernism." This is quite correct. I hope that we can adhere to this spirit in our study of the literature and art of Western modernists.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### CPPCC ROLE, UNITED FRONT WORK EMPHASIZED

WU CHUAN NINGXIA PIBAO in Chinese 14 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Ma Dezhang (7456 1795 6988), secretary general of the Ningxia Autonomous Regional CPPCC Committee and deputy director of the United Front Work Department of the autonomous regional party committee: "Do a Good Job in CPPCC Work; Strive to Fulfill the General Task of People of All Nationalities"]

The 11th National Fifth session of the Fifth National CPPCC Committee, which was convened not long ago, is of great significance in the history of the development of the Chinese people's patriotic united front. The CPPCC, led by the Chinese Communist Party, is a united front organization of all nationalities, social strata, parties, mass organizations, personages from all circles and all patriotic forces of our country. The 11th National Party Congress regarded the consolidating and strengthening of the patriotic united front as an important element in building a high-level socialist modernization. This requires us to do a better job in CPPCC work and give full play to the CPPCC's role in the new historical period. This is extremely important in bringing about a new situation in socialist modernization in our country.

The CPPCC is a historical product of the development of the Chinese revolution. It is also an important organizational model in our country's political system in developing socialist democracy. As early as the new democratic revolutionary period, our party united all classes, social strata, all parties and all patriotic forces to form the broadest patriotic front. In 1949, the first CPPCC plenum of great historical significance was convened on the basis of the development and expansion of the people's democratic united front of our country. The plenum drew up the Common Program, which had the character of a provisional constitution, and set the Central People's Government with Comrade Mao Zedong as chairman in charge of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic. After our country created the system of people's congresses in 1954, the CPPCC no longer functioned as an organ of state power. However, as a united front organization led by the Chinese Communist Party, it still plays an important role in the political and social life of our country. Following the second national CPPCC session, national and local CPPCC committees conducted

political consultations on general political policies of the state and advanced quite a few valuable ideas and suggestions on socialist revolution and construction in our country. At the same time, they made outstanding contributions to uniting all patriotic forces at home and abroad and mobilizing all positive factors to join and support the socialist cause. During the 10-year civil turmoil, the party's united front policy was trampled on. CPPCC committees at all levels were forced to cease their activities. Since the smashing of the Gang of Four, especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has devoted major efforts to bringing order out of chaos, the united front work has been steadily restored and further developed and the CPPCC has entered a new historical period. In February 1978 the First Session of the Fifth National CPPCC Committee was held, and new rules and regulations for the CPPCC were adopted. Since then CPPCC committees at all levels throughout the country have not only been restored and formed one after another but they have been greatly increased in number. They have more members and have recruited members from all circles than previous CPPCC committees. Their work has covered an exceedingly wide range and has a solid foundation. The rapid development of the CPPCC is increasingly fully demonstrating the demand for united front work made by the people under the socialist system.

At the 1st National Conference of CPPCC work across the country, our party has seen new developments in CPPCC work. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the united front work and the united front organizations have restored and formed CPPCC organizations at all levels, including altogether more than 1,000 members to CPPCC organizations, a three-fold increase over that before the 1966 Cultural Revolution. The number of circles within the CPPCC has also increased. The CPPCC has begun to be new with appropriate persons representing various social classes, families of overseas Chinese and compatriots of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. The scale of work has been broadened as a result of the increase in number of members and circles. This fully demonstrates the foundation and development of the patriotic united front work and the broad unity of people of all nationalities and all professions in the new China. New CPPCC organs at all levels are working hard to carry out their duties in the fields of politics and economics, science and technology, education with the people's work, the cultural and sports work, groups in charge of studies, nationalities, foreign relations, literature, culture, public health and all kinds of work involving overseas Chinese and compatriots of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. At all levels, they have worked enthusiastically, actively in promoting the united front work and enriched the content of their work. They have done a great deal of work and achieved outstanding results in the areas of consultation, negotiation, mediation and arbitration, and in the fields of studies, scientific research, exchange of views, exchange of experiences and studies, writing and publishing books, articles, etc. They have played an important role in the united front work, promoting the development of the united front work, and in the principle of "one country, two systems" in relation

supervision," perfecting the socialist legal system, mobilizing the forces of all circles to join the cause of four modernizations, striving for the return of Taiwan to the motherland and fulfilling the great cause of unifying our homeland at an early date.

The Fifth Session of the Fifth National CPPCC Committee recently adopted new rules and regulations for the CPPCC which clearly stipulate that the basic task of the CPPCC in the new period is: "Further consolidate and develop the patriotic united front, mobilize all positive factors, unite all persons who can be united, work in a concerted effort, pool the wisdom and strength of everyone to support and develop the political situation of stability and unity, promote the building of a socialist democracy and legal system, and strive to bring about a new situation in an all-round way in socialist modernization and fulfill the general task of people of all nationalities of our country." This basic task requires us to give full play to the important role of the CPPCC as the headquarters of the patriotic united front. Comrade Mao Zedong said in Yenan: "Many things should be planned with due consideration to all concerned and carried out separately. We should not impose all our heavy burdens on the government. We may tell relevant mass organizations about our problems, difficulties and situations and let them conduct research and study so as to find a solution together." Democratic parties and federations of industrialists and businessmen have come up with many ideas and done a great deal of work. CPPCC committees at all levels should also closely rally around the building of socialist material and spiritual civilizations, further enliven CPPCC work, follow the guidance of the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress, firmly carry out the principle of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and the principle of sharing honor and disgrace as devoted friends and strive to bring about a new situation in socialist modernization in the patriotic united front and in CPPCC work in our country.

The new constitution has been promulgated and enacted. New CPPCC rules and regulations have also been adopted and enforced. Therefore, studying and publicizing the new constitution and the new CPPCC rules and regulations in close connection with the study and implementation of the spirit of all documents adopted at the 12th National Party Congress will become a major task for CPPCC committees at all levels. In accordance with the party's united front policy, it is necessary to do a better job in readjusting working relations among different departments under the CPPCC, further implement policies and arouse the initiative of all circles to bring into full play the function of the CPPCC. In developing socialist democracy, the CPPCC committees at all levels should vigorously cooperate with party and government leading organs to conduct consultations on relevant major party and government leading organs to conduct consultations on relevant major state political policies, local reforms, party principles and policies, work problems of the united front and major local people's concerns and give good play to the role of political consultation and democratic supervision. They should organize and encourage all CPPCC members to study, on a voluntary basis, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, current events and politics and gain professional, scientific and technical knowledge so as to enhance their ability to serve the motherland.



simply as a place to get honorable titles and as a useless department to exchange idle talk. Some even consider it a retirement home. To think so or to do so is wrong. For this does not accord with the status and function of the CPPCC. Of course, the CPPCC is not an organ of state power. It does not have the power of impeachment and inquiry enjoyed by state organs. However, being the headquarters of the Chinese people's united front, it has played an important role in the political life of our country and will continue to do so in the future. Comrade Hu Yaobang once emphatically noted: "From now on, in united front work, we should continue to eliminate "leftist" influence, avoid and overcome things smacking of self-seclusionism, vigorously make friends with non-party members on a wide range and treat all of them equally in discussing and exchanging views. In the new historical period, we must establish a relationship to show utter devotion to and share honor and disgrace with friends outside the party." Our party-member cadres should resolutely overcome "leftist" tendencies, enhance the idea of the united front and conscientiously do a good job in establishing cooperative working relations between party members and non-party personnel. Some people despise, suspect and disrespect democratic parties and patriotic personages; some think they are better than the others. These erroneous tendencies and attitudes should never be tolerated because they are detrimental to bringing into play the role of the CPPCC.

Strengthening the leadership of party committees at all levels over CPPCC work is an important guarantee for doing a good job in the work of CPPCC committees at all levels. Given the attention of party committees and strengthened leadership, it would not be difficult to eliminate the view and practice which considers CPPCC work nonessential. As far as our comrades engaged in CPPCC work are concerned, it is indispensable to have a high degree of a sense of political responsibility, strong dedication to work, the spirit of unremittingly improving themselves and striving to work hard and humble, down-to-earth, conscientious and painstaking work style. A vital element is to emancipate our minds and go all out to make achievements and continue to do so. Only by doing so can we win over the leadership of party committees and the broad support and assistance of all democratic parties and society, do a good job in CPPCC work and open up a new stage for CPPCC work in our region.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "In the new historical period, the CPPCC, as a united front organization, has an extremely glorious task and work filled with a bright future. It will accomplish much." The 12th National Party Congress was a great turning point in the history of our party and a new milestone in carrying out the socialist modernization of our country. It defined the lofty aim and fighting task for our country in the new historical period. It also set forth new requirements on united front work. For CPPCC committees at all levels, the burden is heavy and the road is long. Let us do a better job in CPPCC work under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress.

1992

1992.12.16

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 1. TIANJIN'S SPEECH ON CIVILITY, COURTESY

001100 1 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1330 GMT 28 Feb 83

Li Shizhong, Secretary of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee and Mayor, gave yesterday evening a radio and TV speech on the launching of the 1983 all-people civility and courtesy month campaign.

He said: "First, the second national all-people civility and courtesy month will be held under the Municipal CPC Committee and the municipal people's government. Second, the call to people throughout the municipality will energetically participate in this campaign. Through this campaign, we must further improve the appearance of our municipality and the spiritual outlook of the people, bring about further changes in social practices, and carry the building of material civilization and spiritual civilization throughout the municipality a step further."

In accordance with the urgent demands of the central authorities and in light of the actual condition of our municipality, our all-people civility and courtesy month campaign of the current year must be continuously directed toward the removal of dirt and disorder and poor quality. We must properly create a public order, good order and beautiful surroundings. We must further learn from Lei Feng and from the advanced. Urban areas must concentrate on dealing with poor quality and pay particular attention to poor quality services. Commercial undertakings, service trades, public transportation systems, theaters, traffic police boxes, and departments and institutions closely related to the people's lives must especially first do a good job in this respect. They must combine ideological education with current campaigns. To reform the system and firmly introduce various versions of the socialist responsibility system, they must try to create a new situation of improving the service attitude and the quality of services.

Urban areas must continuously pay close and proper attention to the problem of sanitation. This work is an important part of the civility and courtesy month campaign, Li Shizhong said. "Finally, the municipal government must strictly enforce the Tianjin municipal regulations concerning sanitation and sanitation. The responsibility is important and must be taken seriously. To increase the rules, reform environmental sanitation, and bring about a fundamental change in the long-held inferior status of sanitation, we must guarantee the handling of sanitation and hygiene



work in a regular and systematic manner. In the civility and courtesy month campaign, we must combine the control of dirt with the creation of a beautiful environment. We must spend 2 weeks concentrating on organizing professional personnel, sanitation and disease-prevention personnel, departments in charge of environmental sanitation, middle and primary school students to preach these regulations, so that they can leave a deep imprint on people's minds and lay a good ideological foundation for their official implementation beginning on 1 April."

To properly launch the all-people civility and courtesy month campaign, party committees and governments at all levels and public organizations must raise their awareness and strengthen leadership. In light of the actual conditions of the areas under their control, they must formulate concrete plans and take energetic measures to quickly organize various activities. They must pay close attention to ideological education as a central link. They must closely link the all-people civility and courtesy month campaign with reform work, so that the two can promote each other and stimulate the energetic development of the building of the two civilizations.

"The masses of Communist Party members and CYL members and the masses of cadres, especially leading cadres at all levels, must give full play to their exemplary or vanguard role. They must take the lead in being courteous, promoting new practices and fostering fine moral qualities. They must vie to be pacesetters in the 'five stresses and four points of beauty' campaign. They must guide and influence all the people around them, so that all of them can move ahead together. The launching of the all-people civility and courtesy month campaign is the duty of all the people. Taking care of a dirty and disorderly state and poor quality is the demand of the whole people. All areas, all fronts, and all units in the municipality and all their cadres and the masses must respond to the call of the party and the government and pay attention to sanitation, order and courtesy, eliminating all uncivilized practices. Every one must learn from Lei Feng and from the advanced and vie to do good deeds, bring honor and bring warmth to their comrades."

In conclusion, Li Zhiqun said: "Let our whole party get mobilized and all our people get involved, the all-people civility and courtesy month campaign can be launched in a regular and down-to-earth manner, stimulating the continuous and penetrating development of the '5 stresses, 4 points of beauty and 3 virtues' campaign. Let us strive to turn our Nanjing Municipality into a modernized, civilized, neat and clean, beautiful advanced socialist city."

## REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE: SPECIAL ARTICLES

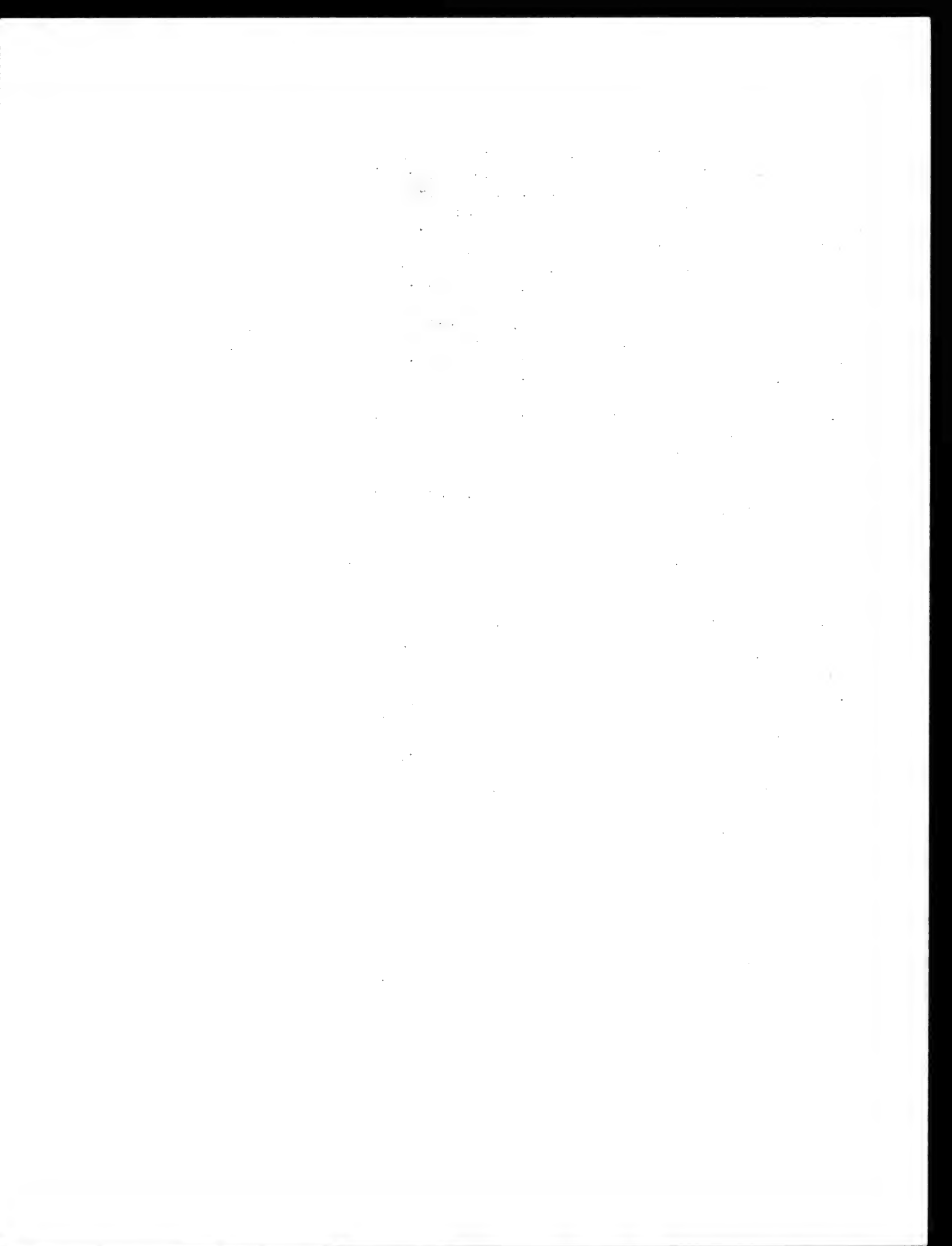
REF ID: A66719 RIBAO in Chinese 23 Feb 33 p 3

Ma [2621], Ma [3668], and Wei Tang [7279-7281]: "On  
the Motion of the Earth's Surface"

### 3. Evaluating the Reform Movement of 1898

... "Xinzhongguo Shidian" [New China Encyclopedia] and "Xinzhongguo Shidian" [Studies in Modern History] was published. It was titled "The question of evaluating the reform movement of 1898" [Xinzhongguo Shidian, 1991, 129-1628]. The article says, Zaitian, a reformer, was concerned in the reform movement, did not carry out the reform, but he was the reformist. In his confidential imperial edicts, in 1898, Zaitian said: "Change thoroughly and in an all-around way. Dismiss the old, the ridiculous and the fatuous from office and from the government, and the brave to posts." However, he did not have the power to do so. Kang Youwei, another figure concerned in the reform movement, said that, first, most of his proposals for reform had not been carried out, and his proposals came to nothing, because the conservative forces opposed them. On the contrary, during the hundred days of reform, many policies of the westernization movement were carried out in many fields such as education and other aspects but few of the

...the reformists did not implement the important issues of practicing the system of ... imperialist aggression. Before the ... the system of constitutional monarchy. ... not even mentioned the establishment of a ... for institutional reform inside ... the establishment of a parliament ... there. In the issue ... the reform movement ... "unity" both in China and other ... the reformists and the Westernization ... their programmes. ... the key ... 1905, the author of the ... 1905 was a ... the national bourgeoisie.





REPRESENTATION OF TYPICAL CHARACTERS IN LITERATURE DISCUSSED

See THE BEIJING WENYI [BEIJING LITERATURE] in Chinese No 12, 10 Dec 82

Article by Wang Meng [3769 5536]: "Some Discussion on the Question of Portraying Model Characters". Words in slantlines italicized in text.

Text: In the summer of 1980, I spoke twice at symposia organized by the WEN YI BAO [JOURNAL OF LITERATURE AND ART] and the BEIJING WENYI [BEIJING LITERATURE] on the topic: "certain literary concepts and also touched on the question of portraying characters in a model environment." Excerpts of my two speeches have been published, and they aroused some discussion. Evidently, what was published were merely excerpts of two extemporaneous speeches, and their author (at that time it was only their "speaker") had no intention in these two simple speeches to give a comprehensive account of the theory of realism in literature and art or to reiterate certain laws of literature and art that have already been or even true in actual practice. In the same way, this speaker was not intentionally trying with two impromptu speeches to belittle, deny or even to throw certain propositions in literature and art which have been generally accepted by our literary and art workers, which are correct and which are difficult to reverse. To adduce the fact that the speaker "did not say a word of affirmation" in order to prove that the speaker must be such and such a person is a completely arbitrary inference will often prove an inaccurate judgment.

And there were certain statements that were indeed inaccurate, inappropriate, inconsiderate and particularly too incomplete. It is absolutely necessary and extremely helpful to criticize, deliberate, query and supplement the deficiencies. As in the past, we also need in future this kind of friendly, self-critical, open discussion and debate, which has the pursuit of truth as its objective. I am extremely grateful for the enlightenment and assistance which I have always enjoyed in having discussed these questions with me.

In the aforementioned two speeches, the speaker's central idea was to point out the primary attempt, somewhat in the manner of "a little trick to allure the eye," to gradually enrich and enliven our literary concepts, especially our realistic terminology, and at the same time, through the tests of practice, give an illustration of the problem of portraying model cases became more practical, more accurate. Because if we do not put forward new concepts, we cannot correct or basically correct certain errors in literature and art. It is not that we do not put forward a few new concepts, or put forward a few new concepts and their relative value ratio, but merely remain



of his significance that must not be overlooked and that cannot be overestimated or forgotten. Imagine for once, if Lu Xun would not have devoted his energy to creating An Q, Kang Tiji and a stream of artistic models, so generally representative and yet also so highly vivid, if Lu Xun would have only written about the thrilling events or only expressed various moods and sentiments in his stories, he would not have been able to help our people realize--painfully yet--so many truths through his stories. The profundity and value created by his realist literature cannot be recreated to the same level in future. In that series of short stories by Lu Xun, the profundity of the characters also constitutes the profundity of the works, the artistic charm of the characters also makes up the charm of the works, the types that he created make up the creative value of his works, the types of his characters are the soul of Lu Xun's these works and without these typical characters there just would not be Lu Xun's these works of Lu Xun.

...the rule. For instance, in his short story "The Plains,"  
...the portraits of the plains themselves  
...characters. It is the plains that have all the writer's  
...his melancholic sentiments and touch the heart-  
...of Russia. A work of this kind still  
...and feeling. It describes the /personified/ soul of  
the plains.

...the first signs of certain characters, but he does to a certain  
...nature in writing about man. That is the true meaning of his  
...that man is not equal to personage.

... "The Plains" as regards avoiding any personages I  
...the case, ... pointing out that "The Man in  
... /'Saxhat'/? in portraying the vast  
... the vast Russian lands and in expressing the  
... the vast Russian lands, are both true state-

... as we can judge Beijing opera  
... artists of Beijing opera and the artistic  
... modern stage plays and according  
... artistic intents, we must not criticize,  
... modern stage plays as being somewhat inter-

... the reality of emotions in Beijing opera to be  
... the first time  
... "The Plains" category,  
... the "The Man

... were written at the  
... with the  
... the univer-

... levels. Even if  
... represent the majority of

... the "The Plains" category

... writing were

... and each in this  
... truth in over-

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generalization. If a certain specific truth, attempts to apply it in an exclusion-  
ary and abstract way, cannot really defend or foster truth. In that respect we  
are not without parallels in our history.

First : All types of literary works differ. The main purpose of most poetry, drama, prose and essays is not the molding of certain characters. Compared with the full-length novel, the short story, because of its limited length, cannot do so. It can in each and every aspect in each single piece. If one would demand that each short story present "model characters in model environments" there would be a monotony and uniformity of short stories which would deprive them of their great variety and diversity. There are conditional and relative "model characters" and "model environments" in particular short stories. Not only O'Henry, from Jack London to Hemmingway and to the recently famous American master of the short story John Cheever, from Merimee to Flaubert, Dostoevsky, from Pu Songling to Lu Xun, to Ru Zhijuan (1843-1897), and to the modern Chinese short stories, whether Chinese or foreign, but even the moderns, differ each one from the other. There are all kinds of characters; some concentrate on describing personages, some describe : a scene, a landscape, an instantaneous perception, a peculiar, striking or interesting event, and so on. Even have as their central figure not a man, but an animal. No matter how we analyse a story where the animal as central figure is written up, we shall find that, as a being, there is no way to draw up an equation: animal = particular personage, and even less "equals model personage." The animal that is the central figure of a short story, if it is a successful short story, must of necessity truly bear and manifest the particular characteristics of that type of animal and of that particular animal, which are inseparable from its form. It could not be replaced by a man, just as a man as the central character in a literary work could not be replaced by an animal.

[illegible]







creative method of "holding model personages in model environments," as in the *Zhu Biao*, the pig-person in the "Travels to the West"; perhaps to a greater extent than Xingtian and Jingwei. They are highly fictitious, but certainly not senseless and wanton creations, also not falsifications, but extremely beautiful, fine and artistically precious creations. This writer is not yet quite clear in what manner a more accurate and more particular designation can be given to their creative method, their method of representing models, but is of symbolizing, fictionalizing and abstracting. I hope I will be the recipient of enlightenment and rectification from others. I hope, more scientific and accurate methods and concepts will be provided to supplement our present methods and concepts.



[illegible]

character, phrases with characters is harmful. The use "and" is not the same as the character "E"; the "E" express additional content, extension or transition, the "and" character. It is precisely this kind of character, extension, and the third: the statement to judge the "I have a friend" text in a different way, that would leave few articles to write, I am afraid.





in "Meeting in Difficult Times," published this year, the structure is to use personages and story as warp and the psychological descriptions, including the stream of consciousness, as woof. This writer will continue to follow Lu Hsiangshan's teachings in future and work myself up the mountain slope of molding model personages in model environments, exert myself to clamber up the high peak of revolutionary realist art, and at the same time engage as before in artistic experimentation and exploration of concepts, in order to implement the policies put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong and implement the spirit of free competition between various styles and between various schools of writers. This is a mutually contradictory. (Quotations in this text are, except otherwise stated, from the article "Informal Discussion of Molding Model Personages in Model Environments" by Comrade Pan Renshan [3382 0088 1472], see BEIJING RENXUE, NO 7, 1982.) Dated: July 1982.

: 40007360

1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl *a*)

[illegible]

... 11/11/83, 1 Mar 83 pp 9-10

... "The New York Times" ...

...of was troubling the people in Hong Kong, some  
...that Wang Ruoshui, first director of the NSHIA  
...h, would leave his post and Ke Hua, the Chinese  
...his successor. This report has drawn the

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1990; 263: 1025-1028.

1. The following are the names of some of the persons who have been named in the above mentioned letter:

[illegible]

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1. The first of these is the fact that the air-  
craft is not a simple machine, but a complex  
one, and that it is not a simple machine, but a  
complex one, and that it is not a simple machine,  
but a complex one.

2. The second of these is the fact that the air-  
craft is not a simple machine, but a complex  
one, and that it is not a simple machine, but a  
complex one, and that it is not a simple machine,  
but a complex one.

3. The third of these is the fact that the air-  
craft is not a simple machine, but a complex  
one, and that it is not a simple machine, but a  
complex one, and that it is not a simple machine,  
but a complex one.

4. The fourth of these is the fact that the air-  
craft is not a simple machine, but a complex  
one, and that it is not a simple machine, but a  
complex one, and that it is not a simple machine,  
but a complex one.

5. The fifth of these is the fact that the air-  
craft is not a simple machine, but a complex  
one, and that it is not a simple machine, but a  
complex one, and that it is not a simple machine,  
but a complex one.

6. The sixth of these is the fact that the air-  
craft is not a simple machine, but a complex  
one, and that it is not a simple machine, but a  
complex one, and that it is not a simple machine,  
but a complex one.

7. The seventh of these is the fact that the air-  
craft is not a simple machine, but a complex  
one, and that it is not a simple machine, but a  
complex one, and that it is not a simple machine,  
but a complex one.

8. The eighth of these is the fact that the air-  
craft is not a simple machine, but a complex  
one, and that it is not a simple machine, but a  
complex one, and that it is not a simple machine,  
but a complex one.

There is no one entered in the election process yet. It is not although the  
suitable person for the Hong Kong branch office has not yet been finally  
decided, Zhao Ziyang is now a favorite who a chance to be appointed is gen-  
erally considered the right. This is the first point. Secondly, whether  
Zhu Rongji or Li Rui is appointed, the appointment will indicate that China  
intends to strengthen its work in Hong Kong. If a person who has more experi-  
ence in the fields of foreign affairs, united front work and organization  
work is sent to take over Wang Kuang's work, it can be imagined that Communist  
China's work in Hong Kong will improve. Of course, a matter who will play  
the role of a top leader of the CPC organization in Hong Kong, he must follow  
the principles and policies drawn up by the central leadership. Communist  
China's principles stand and established principles for dealing with the Hong  
Kong issue will never change because of the change in the leadership of the  
Hong Kong branch.

As the people in Hong Kong are now very sensitive to the 1997 issue, they are  
also particularly concerned with the change in the leadership of the Hong Kong  
branch. In the near future, whether Zhao Ziyang, Li Rui or a dark  
horse turns out to lead the Hong Kong branch, or not, or even that Wang  
Kuang is required to continue his work in spite of his difficulties, the CPC's work  
in Hong Kong will achieve a new development.

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

'WEN WEI PO' INTERVIEWS PRC AMBASSADOR TO UK

HK150494 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 15 Mar 83 p 2

[Special dispatch from London by correspondent Tseng Li-yu [2582 0536 0056]:  
"Ke Hua Talks on Hong Kong Issue, Says It Is Not Hard To Solve"]

[Text] Before Ke Hua, China's ambassador to the United Kingdom, left Britain for China, he gave a special interview to this reporter at the Chinese Embassy in the United Kingdom on the morning of the 14th of this month. Originally this reporter had asked r questions centering on the Hong Kong issue, but the ambassador said that he did not want to answer these questions one by one, in the manner of a primary school student, and that he was going to give a summarized answer to all these questions, in the manner of a college student in giving an answer in the form of an essay.

He said: "You have asked quite a few questions on the Hong Kong issue. I can understand the reason why you are so concerned about this issue. I am China's ambassador to the United Kingdom. I am not very familiar with the situation in Hong Kong. I am not able to speak about many concrete problems related to Hong Kong. I can only talk about some of China's basic principles in dealing with the Hong Kong issue."

"Hong Kong is a part of China's territory and we have clarified this many times. Moreover, we have time and again declared that at an appropriate time, when the conditions are right, we will solve the Hong Kong issue in an appropriate manner. However, our policy is to continue to maintain Hong Kong's prosperity and stability. Concerning these problems, we have been holding talks with the United Kingdom through diplomatic channels. I believe that as long as the two parties base their talks on the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principle of maintaining Hong Kong's prosperity and stability, it is not hard to solve the Hong Kong issue."

He laughed and said that of course, the reporters would not be satisfied with this answer, but this was what he could say on the Hong Kong issue.

On the 16th of this month, the queen of the United Kingdom will receive him at Buckingham Palace. This will happen precisely 4 and 1/2 years after he was appointed to this post, for he came to Britain on 16 September 1978. He said that he led a happy life during his stay in England. Generally speaking, he has been impressed in four aspects.

He said: "I will soon leave Britain and I find that it is hard to leave because of my feelings for this country. A well-known 19th century British writer, Samuel Johnson, said something about London. The gist of what he said was that if a man felt weary of life in London, he would feel weary of all things in the world. As far as I am concerned, I have never been weary of London. The political and social activities in London are very busy and the cultural life is very rich. This is the first impression that I had from 4 and 12 years in Britain."

The second is that Britain is a country with a long history and a tradition of civilization. William Shakespeare, John Milton, George G. Byron, Walter Scott, George Bernard Shaw, Charles Dickens and other well-known writers all grew up in Britain. In the scientific field, great inventors in history, such as Isaac Newton, James Watt and Charles R. Darwin, were born in England. Therefore, I have been very happy during the past few years living in the surroundings of a high degree of civilization and culture. China has a longer history and tradition than Britain, but compared with Britain, China's efforts in protecting cultural relics are insufficient. We all know that before the liberation, great damage was done to China's cultural relics. Since the liberation, the government has made great efforts to protect cultural relics, but there is still quite a lot of work to be done. We should learn from Britain in this."

Third, Britain was where the industrial revolution began. In some fields of science, technology and culture, Britain has still maintained a leading position. I believe that in its struggle for the four modernization China can refer to the experiences that Britain has gained."

Fourth, during my tenure of office, I have met many British and world persons, who are very friendly to China. They are not only very fond of China's ancient culture but are also very much concerned about China's present situation. For many times, I have been invited to give speeches and asked many questions. Many friends hope to make contributions to China's four modernization. Therefore, I am deeply impressed and find that things are happening just as the ancient saying said: 'There are fragrant herbs everywhere, even in the remotest corner of the world.' I hope that you will extend for me my gratitude to British people."

Concerning the development of Sino-British relations, he happily said that during his tenure of office the relations had been very good.

He said: "During the past few years, China and Britain have very quickly developed their relations in the political, economic, trade, scientific and technological, cultural, educational and other fields. There have been busy mutual visiting activities of the delegations of the two countries. To exaggerate a little more, I even know the number of slabs on the way to Heathrow Airport. During my tenure of office, the heads of the two countries visited each other's country. These were great events concerning Sino-British relations. I believe that along with the development of China's economy, Britain can cooperate with China and we can learn from Britain, especially in the development of energy, communications, transport, telecommunications and agriculture, and in the technical renovation of China's existing enterprises,

which are the key tasks in China's sixth 5-year plan. I can safely say that there are broad prospects for cooperation between China and Britain. The relations between the two countries will continue to develop."

During the interview, in order to enliven the atmosphere of the interview, Ambassador Ke Hua mentioned his hobbies in addition to chatting about family affairs. He said that he was fond of hunting. During his stay in Britain, he was often invited by friends to go hunting with them. Once he bagged three deers using only three bullets, and for a few days gave his friends a treat of venison. He will leave Britain for West Germany on the 22d of this month and then return to Beijing. He said: "I do not know whether I will retire or be appointed to a new post. If I retire, I will be able to hunt every day!"

CSO: 4005/650





NAME: [REDACTED]

and people in Beijing say that Ye Jianying is a legendary figure. Native-born Chinese call their part of Ye Jianying as "a general blessed with good fortune." However, the fact is rather strange. "Stories" and "secrets" that have circulated in the past few years have not often involved Marshal Ye and his family.

For example, people say that Ye Jianying has villas in certain places. In Beijing, his villa is nestled amid a grove west of the city and somewhere on the road to the summer place. One of my friends had "visited" this residence of the Marshal. It was well furnished. Most caught one's eye was the advanced electrical and such equipment. It had a spacious courtyard. A large group of security guards offered protection. In Qingdao, Marshal Ye had a high-class ocean-front and shorefront villa. But as it caught people's attention, it was left unoccupied. Instead, another villa was built for him in Beijing. Marshal Ye of course had a special sedan at his disposal. An "extra" car of his disposal was also ready and of a well-known brand. A friend of mine once caught sight of a much younger version of Marshal Ye travelling in Qingdao. It turned out to be Marshal Ye's younger brother, Daoying. The two brothers were so alike that they are liable to be mistaken.

There are also stories in circulation about his offering lenient discipline to his subordinates. One fact is that an open secret. A high-ranking official of the Standing Committee with the family name of Lu had a daughter-in-law who was a naturalized citizen of the U.S.A. She was in business in Hong Kong. Once she had transactions in electrical equipment with China, exporting a million worth of goods. On the Chinese side, several tens of thousands of wires, cables to "pull the strings." Among them, there were also some high-ranking officials, a little, at the expense of the state. Later, they were arrested by the military discipline inspection commission. Their deeds were written in the "Important Reference Data" intended for the sole consumption of the central leaders. These cases of the high-ranking cadres were not reported widely.

It is true that these stories did not have the damaging effect on Marshal Ye. The reason is that many of the stories in Beijing are not true. They are drawn on this revolutionary veteran's record of military adventures.

Ye Jianying's family was well-looked

after. "Family revolution," the vested interests of Ye Jianying, who was a high-ranking official of the "lineage," suffer serious impact. Ye was a high-ranking official with the persecution of many veteran cadres. In February 1958, Ye Jianying was criticized by three vice premiers--Li Jiaquan, Li Xiangqian and Zhou Enlai. They were all in the same scene sitting at the table. Ye Jianying was the only one who was not sitting at the table. He was a little finger was broken. This was the well-known "adverse" incident. After that, he was sent to the Lishan hot springs for a year. In 1962, after the 12 eds, he again stayed in Shanghai for another period.

After the "Ninth CPC National Congress," Mao Zedong saw through Lin Biao's ambition to seize power. In 1971, Ye Jianying was invited to help with Zhou Enlai's work to counterbalance Lin Biao's influence. When the second plenary session of the Ninth CPC Central Committee met in Lushan, Lin Biao and company again opposed Mao's repeated instructions and keenly urged the establishment of the post of state chairman in an attempt to put Lin Biao in this post. This problem gave rise to heated controversy at the session. Smelling a rat, Lin Biao told Lin Liguo to send a plane and some people to Lushan, as he had a sinister purpose in mind. At this critical moment, Ye Jianying bravely came forward. He immediately sent for the commander of the Lushan garrison regiment, and ordered the dispatch of people to protect Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai and to escort them downhill.

After Lin Biao died in Undur Khan, Deng Xiaoping came back on the scene. Ye Jianying also acted as minister of national defense. At the 10th National CPC Congress, Ye Jianying was elected vice chairman of the CPC Central Committee.

After the Tiananmen incident in 1986, Deng Xiaoping was forced to come down. Ye Jianying also allegedly "resigned voluntarily for health reasons." It was said that Ye Jianying was unusually upset over this. He purposely linked up in a queue in a Beijing market to buy vegetables. Someone recognizing him asked: "Are you not in poor health?" Ye Jianying angrily replied: "I am in the best of health!"

In "the palace coup" in early October the same year, Wang Dongxing's 8341 unit went directly to arrest the gang of four. But it was Ye Jianying who had elaborately plotted this. Credit should go chiefly to him. Hua Guofeng said: "Marshal Ye's foresight enabled us to successfully capture the gang of four at one swoop."

#### Unswerving Loyalty to Mao

The people of Beijing now very seldom talk about this brilliant deed on Ye Jianying's part. Marshal Ye's prestige has dropped. Apart from the circulation of many unfavorable rumors about him, there are two reasons for this. First, Ye shares the same thoughts with Hua Guofeng and is on good terms with him. Second, he is old and weak but has long refused to retire.

Like Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianying was in the past "faithfully devoted" to Mao Zedong. On the long march, Ye Jianying saved Mao Zedong's life. Later, Mao Zedong set great store by Ye. During the anti-Japanese war, Ye was the chief of general staff of the eighth route army. In the "war of liberation," he acted as deputy chief of general staff. Before the "cultural revolution," Ye Jianying did not do very well. He had neither power nor much position (within the party). The highest place he got was a member of the CPC Central Committee. His title as vice chairman of the military affairs committee was in name only. But Ye Jianying was still greatly devoted to Mao Zedong. In the initial stage of the "cultural revolution," Ye Jianying kept preaching the theme that Mao Zedong was in the best of health and could live to more than 100. Just as he did during the Lushan conference mentioned above, he again saved Mao during the "cultural revolution." Compared with the relationship between Mao and Ye, Zhou and Ye

had between them much stronger personal friendship. They mixed with each other at the Huangpu military college and during the northern expedition. In the latter stage of the "war of liberation," Ye acted as chief representative of the group for the deployment of military forces. This was thanks to Zhou's strong recommendation. After the downfall of the gang of four, Ye Jianying came out with a long article singing the praises of Mao Zedong and also affirming the "great cultural revolution" started by Mao Zedong as a great contribution to the cause of the Chinese people. It so happened that among the heads of the CPC, Ye Jianying and Hua Guofeng were of the same mind in the matter of respecting and idolizing Mao.

#### Hua Guofeng Initially Given Support

At the 11th CPC National Congress in 1977, Hua Guofeng acted as chairman of the CPC Central Committee. At this time, Ye Jianying, who ranked first among four vice chairman (second only to Hua Guofeng), was the first to take the lead in starting a new personality cult. He was the first to call Hua Guofeng a "brilliant leader." He instructed various newspapers to vigorously build Hua Guofeng up in accordance with Mao's instructions. This campaign greatly moved Hua Guofeng who was lacking in foresight. Hua confined himself to Zhongnanhai every day viewing films on Mao Zedong and imitating the movements and manners of the "great leader." He also practiced hard with the Chinese writing brush. He wrote inscriptions with the brush everywhere, following Mao's ways in every respect.

To many people in Beijing, Hua Guofeng was the backstage supporter behind the advocates of whateverism, while Marshal Ye was the one Hua Guofeng turned to for support.

In the past few years, in high places within the CPC there has actually been controversy on certain major issues between conservatives (including the advocates of whateverism) and the advocates of reform. From the 3d Plenary Session to the 7th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and to the 12th CPC National Congress, the advocates of reform headed by Deng Xiaoping kept pressing forward while the conservatives were on the defensive. The advocates of whateverism were reduced to a shambles. The Sixth Plenary Session relieved Hua Guofeng of his post as party chairman. Reserved for him were six vice chairmanships ranking last in order of importance. Ye Jianying did not attend the Sixth Plenary Session to join in a discussion. He asked the CPC Central Committee of the political bureau and the whole body of committee members attending the Sixth Plenary Session, he agreed to the changes of personnel made by the CPC Central Committee. Meanwhile, he suggested that in the lineup of vice chairman, Deng be placed before Ye rather than Deng after Ye, as before. Some people in Beijing said: "The old marshal was not very happy." Needless to say, at the 12th CPC National Congress, Hu Guofeng could not even retain his posts as vice chairman, member of the standing committee of the political bureau, and member of the political bureau. This course gave greater displeasure to those favorably inclined to Hua.

## Different Views on Reform

Recently, Deng and Hu have been keen on making major reforms. This is another great blow to the conservatives and the advocates of whateverism. Many conventions prevailing in Mao Zedong's time have been smashed. Things previously interpreted as "revisionist" and "capitalist" have now appeared, one after another. The reform of the army, in particular, has directly affected the interests of those people who want to maintain their great influence in the army. Deng Xiaoping is a keen advocate of the modernization and standardization of the army. He [word indistinct] establish crack land, naval and air forces, and to improve the quality of men and weapons. He therefore stresses the need to have knowledgeable, younger people.... All things that need to be done along the modern lines, such as the reduction of army men (the capital construction corps and the railway engineering corps to be abolished or trimmed), will surely lead to the retirement of many veteran cadres among PLA units and greatly weaken certain influences on the army--influences with these veteran cadres as their mainstay. Therefore, people close to military sources consider that differences of opinion on the problem of military reform are inevitable.

But it seems that reforms in all areas, departments and units have become a great historical tide which is overwhelming and irresistible.

In these circumstances, Ye Jianying has decided to resign.

It can be expected that at the sixth NPC to be convened in the summer of this year, a chairman of the NPC standing committee will be elected. At the same time, a state chairman will also be elected.

Whether Marshal Ye is happy or unhappy, willing or unwilling, resignation on his part is undoubtedly a wise move and is far better than a hopeless struggle. Objectively speaking, this will further help the future reform campaign by the advocates of reform. Deng and Hu's bulldozer will again be greeted with a song of triumph.

## Who Will Be the Head?

To whom will the cherished post of chairman of the NPC standing committee belong?

Many people have automatically rested their eyes on Peng Zhen.

It seems logical for Peng Zhen to be the successor. But up to now, we cannot be 100 percent sure about this.

The new chairman of the NPC standing committee is also liable [words indistinct] chairman is related to the problem of electing the state chairman.

The May 1982 issue of Cheng Ming reported that in discussing the election of the state chairman, some people in high circles within the CPC favored Li Xiannian.

According to those in [word indistinct], Ye Jianying also recommended Li Xiannian.

But up to now, many people on the CPC Central Committee still hope that Deng Xiaoping will be appointed as state chairman.

It can be said for sure that on the matter of electing these two heads, Zhongnanhai has still not made the final decision.

On the list of candidates considered for the two top posts, there have been Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Xi Zhongxun, Peng Zhen, Deng Yingchao, Liao Chengzhi, and so forth. [Words indistinct] some people in Beijing have recently raised the possibility [words indistinct].

[Words indistinct] chairman and that Wan Li may succeed as premier.

Though the problem has not been finally solved completely, it is said that it is very likely that Liao Chengzhi may play a role a bit more important than that of vice chairman of the NPC standing committee. This post may at least be as the chairman of the state.

No matter what, a new chairman of the NPC standing committee, or the chairman of the state will be a product of Deng and Hu.

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### GUANGZHOU CPPCC PLANS TO REFORM STRUCTURE

HK100316 Hong Kong PAO in Chinese 9 Mar 83 p 5

["Special dispatch from Guangzhou": "Guangzhou CPPCC Carries Out Institutional Reform, Its Non-communist Members Have Increased to 60 Percent"]

[Text] The third session of the Fifth Guangzhou City CPPCC opened on 6 March. According to Mei Rixin, vice chairman of the city CPPCC, in order to meet the needs of the structural reform and to arrange personnel affairs according to an overall plan, the current meeting will place emphasis on discussing the issue of organizing a new city CPPCC ahead of schedule.

The Fifth Guangzhou City CPPCC Commission was founded in September 1981. It has convened two plenary sessions before the current one. The tenure of the current commission was originally planned to expire next year. In view of the fact that the national CPPCC has decided to organize a new commission and hold a conference of the new commission in June this year, the Guangzhou City CPPCC also decided to organize a new commission ahead of schedule so as to make itself in keeping with the national commission.

According to Mei Pixin, members of the city CPPCC commission will discuss issues concerning the number of new commission members, proportions of people from different groups, and the arrangement of other personnel affairs. A tentative plan can be outlined as follows: the number of next city CPPCC commission members is planned to be about 400 people (the current commission has 427 members). Of them, the proportion of CPC members will not be over 40 percent and non-CPC members will not be less than 60 percent. The number of the standing committee members is planned to be 90 people (the current one has 110 people). CPC members in the standing committee will not exceed 35 percent. The number of chairman and vice chairmen of the CPPCC commission is planned to be 15 people (there are 19 chairman and vice chairmen in the current CPPCC commission). As for the arrangement of personnel affairs, the number of people holding two or more posts concurrently will be reduced. No person can hold posts concurrently in both the CPPCC and the people's congress. The CPPCC will try to absorb more new members and combine them with old members. Experts in all fields, well-known personages and intellectuals, members of various democratic parties and nonparty democratic personages who have cooperated with the CPC for a long time will continue to hold their posts in the CPPCC.

CSO: 4005/650

INTERVIEW WITH QIAO GUANHUA

HK10043, Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 9 Mar 83 p 3

["Special" article by You Shen [0642 3947]: "A Visit To Qiao Quanhua During the Spring Festival"]

[Excerpts] During the Spring Festival, this reporter called on Qiao Guanhua. Since he was removed from the position as foreign minister, Qiao Guanhua has never appeared in Beijing's political or diplomatic activities and people have seldom heard any news of him. In early January this year, he was appointed an adviser to the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. On the eve of the Spring Festival, he also attended the banquet held by the association in honor of British writer Han Suyin. On the same occasion, he appeared in the television news program.

Qiao Guanhua's father-in-law was Zhang Shizhao, who was also known as a "Commander of the Tiger Battalion." After Zhang died, Qiao Guanhua and his wife moved to Zhang's former home from their apartment in the Foreign Ministry. The place they are living is a tastefully-designed house which is furnished with Western-style comforts and is surrounded by a exquisite Chinese-style garden.

When meeting this reporter, Qiao Guanhua talked a little about recent developments in his life. In recent years, he has been hospitalized on three occasions. On the first occasion, doctors discovered that there was a tumor at the tip of his left lung and performed an operation on him. The operation had a good effect. Afterward, it was discovered that his right lung also had a shadow. He had to stay in [the] hospital on another two occasions. At that time, he just asked the hospital for leave to go home and celebrate the Spring Festival with his family. After the festival, he still had to go back to the hospital to continue medical treatment.

Apart from having held some important posts in the foreign affairs field, Qiao Guanhua is also a well-known expert in international issues. This reporter asked him whether he planned to write any works. He launched loudly and said that he did not have any great plan but just wanted to write some personal reminiscences. Central leaders also hoped that he would write down his personal experiences in his diplomatic career which would become valuable historical data. Then, he enumerated some important events he has experienced: The Korean armistice negotiations, the two Geneva conferences on the Indochina



issue, two Asian-African conferences, the Sino-Indian negotiations of the border disputes, the Sino-Soviet talks, the first visit of Nixon to China, and China's recovery of its legal seat in the United Nations. During the anti-Japanese war, he wrote comments on international affairs for XINHUA RIBAO in Chongqing under the pseudonym of Yu Huai. Even now, some people can still remember his articles.

CS0: 4005/650

FUJIAN'S XIANG NAN URGES UNITY OF CADRES

HK100634 HONG KONG MIN-PAO in Chinese 10 Mar 83 p 5

["Special Dispatch" by Min Thong (2404 1813): "Xiang Nan Urges Unity Among Cadres; Fujian Streamlines Government Organs"]

[Text] Fuzhou, 9 March--In Fujian Province, reform of the provincial government organs as well as the public organs at the prefectural and city levels has been going on smoothly. The former 77 administrative organs under the provincial government, including departments, committees, offices and bureaus, have now been reduced by more than 1/3. Their personnel have also been reduced by 1/3. The average age of department directors and deputy directors is 34. Forty percent of the leading cadres have attained the educational level of a university or technical institute student.

Xiang Nan, first secretary of the Fujian provincial CPC committee, said at a meeting held on 8 March to present meritorious service certificates to the first group of retiring veteran cadres: the current reform of provincial government organs as well as the public organs at the prefectural and city levels has been conducted according to the four principles of being fair and just, being open to the people, avoiding exclusiveness and appointing people to their merits.

Xiang Nan stressed: we must avoid exclusiveness and make no distinction between the natives and those who have come from other parts of the country. King Shennong, who commanded deep reverence among the Fujian people and was called the prince of Fujian by them in ancient times, was a native of Henan and his wife a native of Shanxi. An indissoluble bond was formed between the Fujian and the Shanxi people long ago. The ancestors of many Fujian people came from northern China. Why can't we communists avoid exclusiveness as our ancestors did?

It has been learned that during the current reform of government organs, opinion polls, small forums, personal conversations and individual tests have been held. The latter should be retained, admitted or discharged. Therefore, the results are quite good. One shortcoming is that the age structure is not ideal. In the leading groups, there are few cadres under the age of 45, and also few women cadres and non-party cadres.

Xiang Nan said: Cooperation of the new and old cadres and succession of the old by the new do not happen just this once but will take place for ever. He asked the new and old cadres to strengthen unity and support each other.

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

BRIEFS

PRC AMBASSADOR TO BRITAIN NAMED--Outgoing PRC Ambassador to Britain Ke Hua told reporters here today that the new ambassador will be Chen Zhaoyuan [7115 5128 3293]. He comes from Guangdong and speaks Cantonese. Aged in his 60's, he has served as ambassador to Burma, Spain and India. He will take up his new post in Britain in April or May. [Special dispatch from London: "Chen Zhaoyuan Appointed New Ambassador to Britain"] [Text] [HK150112 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 15 Mar 83 p 1]

CSO: 4005/650

TAIWAN

TAIWAN MURDERS LINKED TO INSURGENCY PLOT

OW171359 Hong Kong AFP in English 0948 GMT 17 Mar 83

[Text] Taipei, 17 March (AFP)--The decomposed bodies of three men and one woman were dug out in Taiwan's southern Taiwan county yesterday in what was believed to be a political murder case involving a Japanese national who allegedly engaged in arms smuggling, police reported today.

Hsu Tung-chih, 36, told police that a Japanese, Katsuo Kumura, put the four bodies into a metal box and pumped gas into it. The four persons were lured into the box by Mr Kumura who promised to get them to Japan, Mr Hsu added.

Police said the bodies had been buried for at (?least) 2 months. The cause of their death will be determined after an autopsy, they added.

Mr Hsu indicated that two crates of firearms and over 1,000 bullets had been smuggled into Taiwan under Kumura's direction. The firearms and ammunition, which were buried on a mountain top in Taitun, East Taiwan, were to be used to topple the nationalist Chinese Government, he said.

The dead were identified as Lin Chin-Shou, 35, Kuo Liang--Lin's wife--, 33, Kuo Lien-cheng--Kuo Liang's brother--, 31, and Wu Chung-juno, 47. They were reportedly hired by Mr Hsu on Mr Kimura's instruction to do some work, the nature of which was not immediately disclosed. Mr Hsu told police the four refused to comply because the job involved was "illegal." [Sentence as received]

Mr Hsu said he had met Mr Kimura in southern Kachsiung after his being released from jail last September.

He indicated that he had been told by a death row inmate that he could get help after his release from jail by going to a place in Kaohsiung, wearing a certain type of dress.

Mr Hsu said he followed these instructions and was then contacted by Mr Kimura.

CSO: 4000/82

PRC PUBLICATION ACCUSES USSR OF 'HEGEMONISM'

OW141322 Hong Kong AFP in English 1314 GMT 14 Mar 83

[Text] Beijing, 14 March (AFP)--China again rejected a possible renewal of the Sino-Soviet alliance that was broken in the early sixties, once again accusing the Soviet Union of "hegemonism" in a Chinese magazine today.

Apparently alluding to certain U.S. political circles, the review affirmed "that some people in the world today are quite worried about relations between China and the Soviet Union."

"In their eyes, these relations can be characterised in only two ways--as a tense situation 'on the verge of conflict,' or as clearly linked to 'the big, indestructable, socialist family'," said the bimonthly magazine BAN YUE TAN, a Chinese Communist Party organ.

This analysis "lacks insight and basis," added the review in a commentary coinciding with normalization discussions in Moscow between the Soviet Union and China.

The talks opened at the beginning of this month, following a round of discussions between the two socialist giants in October in Beijing.

Since the resumption of discussions, the official Chinese press has published commentaries scolding the Soviet Union for refusing to tackle the Cambodian question with China.

Diplomatic circles here say that the commentaries suggest that the discussions are only marking time.

Yesterday, China published a warning to the Soviet Union in the BEIJING REVIEW, affirming that continued intervention by Vietnam in Cambodia could only worsen Sino-Soviet relations.

China has called for a halt in Moscow's support of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia as one of its conditions for a real improvement in its ties with the Soviet Union. Vietnamese troops in Cambodia are defending a regime opposed by resistance movements supported by China.

The bimonthly restated Beijing's willingness to normalize relations with the Moscow, but said that it would not slacken its criticism of Soviet "hegemonism" until Moscow renounces it.

CSO: 4005/647

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107

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